

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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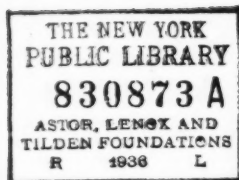
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Vol. XXIX.

JANUARY, 1935

No. I

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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1935.

## THE LATER COMIC CHORUS.

THE history of Attic comedy after the fifth century is not simple. The comic fragments are obscure, because they are fragments: and the ancient interpreters,<sup>1</sup> because they are determined to interpret. But the subject still remains interesting and important, especially in so far as it is concerned with Middle Comedy, which filled the gap between Aristophanes and Menander. Formally and materially, Menander was a modern, while Aristophanes was not: and it was during the fourth century that the ground was being prepared for the change. Now one of the most noticeable differences between Old and New Comedy was the altered position of the chorus; and although the very mixed assortment of facts available makes coherent conclusions difficult, I think it worth enquiring how much can be known of the chorus after Aristophanes.

Until almost the end of the fifth century, the expenses of the comic chorus of twenty-four members were defrayed by the single *Choregus* assigned to each competing poet by the state. As will be seen later, the cost was considerable: and the available supply of rich citizens must have dwindled as the Peloponnesian War dragged on. It is thus not surprising to discover from Aristotle that the system was ultimately recast. The Scholium in which Aristotle's statement occurs runs:<sup>2</sup>

ἔοικε δὲ παρεμφαίνειν ὅτι λιτῶς ἤδη ἐχορηγεῖτο τοῖς ποιηταῖς. ἐπὶ γοῖν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδνο ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς· ὥστε ἴσως ἦν τις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀγῶνα συστολή· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τινι καὶ καθάπαξ περιεῖλε Κινησίας τὰς χορηγίας· ἐξ οὗ καὶ Στράτις ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν δράματι ἔφη· σκηνὴ μὲν τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησίου.

The second half, which deals with the supposed abolition of the Choregia, does not concern us at the moment. In the first, the Scholiast makes two inferences of his own, which he supports by a quotation probably taken from Aristotle's *Nikai Dionysiakai*.<sup>3</sup> One of these inferences is sensible and the other is not. He is obviously right in extending Aristotle's σύνδνο χορηγεῖν to the Lenaea as well (v. footnote); but he is just as obviously wrong in concluding that the introduction of a *Synchoregia* meant a reduction in total expenditure upon dramatic festivals (λιτῶς ἤδη ἐχορηγεῖτο). The *Synchoregia* may have lightened the burden upon the individual *Choregus*: but its whole purpose was the maintenance of the old standard in the face of economic difficulties due to the Peloponnesian War.

Apart from its intrinsic weight, Aristotle's statement is confirmed by two

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Grammarians, collected in Dübner, *Schol. Graeca in Arist. cum Prol. Grammaticorum*, and Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Frg.*

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 404 ff. The lines in question are:

Ἰακχε φιλοχορευντά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.  
405 σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλωτι  
κάπ' εὐτελείᾳ τὸν τε σανδαλάκον  
καὶ τὸ βάκος, κάξεύρες ὥστ'  
ἀζημίους παίξεν τε καὶ χορεύειν.

The reference is, of course, not to the Dionysia or Lenaea, but to the procession along the

Sacred Way on the sixth day of the Eleusinia. The Scholiast misunderstood this.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle was the author of a *Didascaliae* and a *Nikai Dionysiakai*. The fact that he talks of a *Synchoregia* at the Dionysia only, when it is almost impossible to believe that the new regulations did not apply to the Lenaea as well, makes it extremely likely that the Scholiast took his quotation from a work which dealt specifically with the Dionysia. The scholium on *Birds* 1377, however, shows that the *Didascaliae* were also accessible.

inscriptions which can be dated on epigraphical grounds to the end of the fifth century. I quote one of them:<sup>1</sup>

Μνησίστρατος Μίσγωνος  
Διοσίθης Διοδώρου ἐχορήγουν.  
Δικαιογένης ἐδίδασκεν.

Μνήσαρχος Μνησιστράτου  
Θεότιμος Διοσίμουν ἐχορήγουν.  
Ἀρίφρων ἐδίδασκεν.

The *Synchoregia* is thus clearly historical; the date of its introduction and its duration are more difficult to determine. There were two archons named Callias, the first in 412 and the second in 406. The ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ Καλλίου of the Scholium is of no help, as it is apparently part of the quotation from Aristotle, the context of which is lost. However, Lysias throws a certain amount of light on the problem by references to the cost of *Choregiae* at different dates.<sup>2</sup> His information may be summarized as follows:

- i. Tragic chorus costs 30 *minae* in the archonship of Theopompus, i.e. in 410.
- ii. Comic chorus costs 16 *minae* in the archonship of Euclides, i.e. in 402. This sum included the dedication of the costumes worn.
- iii. Two tragic choruses together cost 50 *minae*. The date is the interval between the battle of Cnidus and 389. The cost of a single tragic chorus between 394 and 388 is therefore about 25 *minae*.

This is meagre but significant evidence. The tragic chorus of 410 cost roughly twice as much as the comic chorus of 402. Now although a tragic chorus performed in four plays and a comic in only one, a comic *Choregus* had to train and pay twenty-four *Choreutae*, instead of fifteen: and more often than not he had to provide extravagant costumes, a problem which did not arise in tragedy.<sup>3</sup> He did not content himself with inferior, and therefore cheaper, singing and dancing, as we know that the same *Choreutae* generally performed in both tragedy and comedy.<sup>4</sup> Then why the startling difference between the outlay of Lysias' client as tragic *Choregus* in 410 and as comic *Choregus* in 402? Clearly because the reorganization of the *Choregia* took place in 406: so that as *Choregus* in 402 he had to bear only a part of the expense. Two other considerations support this. First, if we assume that the *Synchoregia* was instituted as far back as 412, the tragic chorus of 410 must have cost in all about one talent,<sup>5</sup> an outrageously large sum. Secondly, the same man mentions that he paid a further fifty *minae* for a men's chorus in 409.<sup>6</sup> Now Demosthenes, speaking in 350, complains of the costliness of a men's chorus as compared with a tragic chorus.<sup>7</sup> This is sixty years later, it is true; but we know that tragic poets were still competing with three plays each as late as 342,<sup>8</sup> so that

<sup>1</sup> I.G. II. 1280. See also: Brinck, *Inscr. Graecae ad Choregiam Pertinentes*, and Köhler, *Hermes*, II. 23. The unusual joint-inscription is probably to be explained by the fact that Mnesistratus, *Choregus* of Dicaeogenes, is the father of Mnesarchus, *Choregus* of Aripbron. The second inscription is I.G. II. Suppl. 1280b, where the comedy of Aristophanes apparently preceded the tragedy of Sophocles. Foucart identifies the tragedy with the *Oedipus Coloneus*, produced in 401. Köhler prefers to regard the inscription as pre-Euclidean. It then follows that the play in question must have been staged before Sophocles' death: it might be the *Philoctetes* of 409 (cp. Reisch, *P.-W.* s.v. *Choregia*). Other indications lacking, the epigraphical evidence is indecisive. But see p. 3, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lysias, 21. 1, 21. 4, 19. 29, 19. 42.

<sup>3</sup> In tragedy conventional costumes were prob-

ably hired for the occasion at a low rate. Cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, II. 424. 42 ff. for a later example.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.* 3. 3. 1276b.

<sup>5</sup> One talent is, I think, the minimum. If Lysias' client was a *Synchoregus* in 410, and also bore the larger part of the expense, he would surely not have omitted to mention it as a fact in his favour; and only in that case should we get a total of less than a talent.

<sup>6</sup> Lysias, 21. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Dem., 21. 156, where he says: τραγωδοῖς κεχορηγήκε ποθ' οὗτος, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πλέον ἐστὶ πολλῶ οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου.

<sup>8</sup> I.G. II. 973. Astydamas entered his *Achilles*, *Athamas*, and *Antigone*. A single Satyric play was now put on at the beginning of the competition.

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<sup>3</sup> 56. 3.  
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<sup>5</sup> A.J.  
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<sup>6</sup> Ath.  
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the relative cost of a tragic chorus and a men's chorus must have remained about the same. The speaker in Lysias says that he spent thirty *minae* on his tragic chorus and fifty on his men's chorus: and if we assume that these two sums represent the total expenditure in each case, we get exactly the proportion which we should have expected. If, on the other hand, we assume that the thirty *minae* represent only half of the amount spent on the tragic chorus, the relative cost (sixty *minae* as against fifty) is impossible to explain.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's Callias must therefore be the archon of 406.<sup>2</sup>

And now, how long did the *Synchoregia* last? It is clear from the 'Αθ. Πολ.<sup>3</sup> that it had disappeared by c. 325,<sup>4</sup> as it is there explicitly stated that one *Choregus* only was allotted to each poet. Capps,<sup>5</sup> following Köhler,<sup>6</sup> thinks that there is epigraphical evidence for its survival until the third quarter of the fourth century; but that is impossible. His inscription<sup>7</sup> was only made to refer to a *Synchoregia* by a mistaken restoration,<sup>8</sup> and there are no palaeographical reasons for dating it to c. 350.<sup>9</sup> Further, he is flatly contradicted by Demosthenes,<sup>10</sup> who makes it quite clear that no *Synchoregia* was in existence in 355/4, the year of the *Leptines*, by actually hinting at the possibility of introducing a joint-tenure of the *Choregia* as a cure for the financial difficulties of the moment. We have no evidence to show that Demosthenes' proposal was taken seriously; and the fact that he does not seize the opportunity to quote the earlier *Synchoregia* as an obvious precedent shows that it must have been abolished long enough before to be forgotten, i.e. soon after 400. An inscription dateable to 387 strongly supports this theory of an early disappearance: it refers to single *Choregi*.<sup>11</sup> And further evidence to the same effect is furnished by the third passage of Lysias quoted above.<sup>12</sup> There, Aristophanes seems to have spent fifty *minae* on two tragic choruses between the battle of Cnidus and 389; that is to say, roughly twenty-five *minae* in his own name, and twenty-five in his father's. Evidently the *Synchoregia* had already gone, as the choruses concerned must otherwise have cost something like fifty *minae* apiece;<sup>13</sup> the twenty-five *minae* are, in fact,

<sup>1</sup> I have said nothing of the possibility that all *Choregiae* were reorganized in 412 or 406, as it does not directly concern the argument. But it is worth pointing out here that the men's chorus of 409 could not possibly have cost 100 *minae* all told; therefore, if it was 'synchoregized,' it must have been in 406: and if it was not, the argument in the text is unaffected.

<sup>2</sup> Confirming Foucart's dating of *I.G.* II. *Suppl.* 1280b, as against Köhler's.

<sup>3</sup> 56. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Or even earlier. Cp. *I.G.* II. *Suppl.* 971, which dates to 329.

<sup>5</sup> *A.J.A.*, X. Cp. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, 3rd ed., p. 54, note 3, for the same view.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 7. 348.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.* II. 1285, which runs:

ἡδυνέλωτι χορῶ Διονύσια σ . μ ποτε ἐν . . .  
μνημόσυνον δὲ θεῶ νίκης τόδε δῶρον . . .  
δῆμῳ μὲν κόσμον, ἥλῳ πατρὶ κισσοφο . . .  
τοῦδε δὲ ἐτι πρότερος στεφανηφόρον ε . . .

Köhler restores: (1) σύμ ποτε ἐνίκων; (2) δῶρον ἔθηκεν; (3) κισσοφοροῦντι; (4) εἶλετ' ἀγῶνα.

<sup>8</sup> See *Hermes*, LXV, 242 f., No. 268, where Wilamowitz shows conclusively that Köhler's restorations are impossible. According to Wilamowitz's interpretation, line 1 is to be construed: ' . . . [he once gained a victory together with a

merry chorus,' instead of: ' . . . together [they] gained a victory with a merry chorus,' as Köhler and Capps want to interpret.

<sup>9</sup> The lettering is the only evidence of date. Presumably Köhler assigned the inscription to c. 350 or later because of the presence of OT, instead of simple O, in the first word of line 4. The O (for OT) and E (for EI) of the old Attic alphabet persisted for some time after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 403. But this is a rule with numerous exceptions. Cp. W. Lurfeld, *Handbuch*, II. 462-3, and Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, 20. 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Leptines*, 23.

<sup>11</sup> *I.G.* 971c. A badly jumbled copy of what seems to have been an inscription in three vertical columns. Two things in connection with it seem certain, however. The first is the date (archonship of Theodotus): and the second is the use of *ἐχορήγει* in two places. The *Choregi* mentioned, whether tragic or comic, must have been single.

<sup>12</sup> 19: 29, 42. *De Bonis Aristophanis*.

<sup>13</sup> Or over eight hundred pounds, according to present-day monetary values (cp. Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 65). The calculation of modern currency-equivalents is very difficult. The figure given represents, of course, purchasing-power, not intrinsic worth.

on the scale of the thirty *minae* of 410, and not on the scale of the sixteen *minae* of 402.

All this confirms the conclusion from Demosthenes. But we can go a little further. According to Lysias, Aristophanes acted as *Choregus* twice within 'four or five years,' once for his father, Nicophemus, who was abroad with Conon, and once in his own name.<sup>1</sup> Now Nicophemus made his money as Conon's lieutenant, starting with the victory at Cnidus in August, 394. The 'four or five years' is the period between 394 and Aristophanes' death in 389. It is clear, I think, that the two *Choregiae* must have fallen towards the beginning and towards the end of this interval; if they had been consecutive, the fact would have been so unusual as almost certainly to have been mentioned in his favour. Thus the first probably fell in 392 or 391, and the second in 390 or 389.<sup>2</sup> Only the first concerns us. If Aristophanes acted as *Choregus* in 392 or 391, he must have been appointed in 393 or 392: and that furnishes a *terminus ante quem* for the abolition of the *Synchoregia*. At the same time, it cannot have been abolished very long before 393-2, as the conditions which led to its introduction must have persisted for some years after the Peloponnesian War had come to an end. A date somewhere near 394-3 would suit the evidence best: and with that we must rest satisfied.<sup>3</sup>

There are good reasons for dating the disappearance of the *Synchoregia* to c. 394-3. Now it is clear from the *Didascaliae*<sup>4</sup> that while three comic poets had competed, each with a single play, until at least 405, the number of competitors had been raised to five by the year 388. It is easy to presume a connection between this increase and the abolition of the *Synchoregia* discussed above; and it is no less easy to see that the substitution of the word XOPOY for most of the choral lyrics of the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* is related to both. We must now try to determine the significance of the three changes and their bearing upon one another.

It is obvious that the *Ecclesiazusae* (? 392) and the *Plutus* (388) are structurally distinct from the earlier series of Aristophanes' comedies which ends for us with the *Frogs*, performed in 405. Neither the *Plutus* nor the *Ecclesiazusae* has a *Parabasis*, and in both plays the usual lyrics are, to a greater or less extent, absent; in their place appears the brief heading XOPOY. I shall assume for the moment that XOPOY implies a decline in the importance of the chorus as a constituent of comedy without enquiring further into the form which that decline took.<sup>5</sup> Now a comparison of these two plays with the rest of Aristophanes reveals two important structural differences, the first common to both, the second peculiar to the *Plutus*. The first difference is the complete omission of *Parabasis* and *Syzygies*,<sup>6</sup> a significant modification of the

<sup>1</sup> Lys. 19. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Choregi* for any given year were designated by the Archons concerned when they took office in the preceding July. Ar. cannot have been appointed *Choregus* for the festivals of 393, as in July 394 he was still a poor man. Cp. *Ath. Pol.* 56.

<sup>3</sup> Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 54, note 3, quotes this passage of Lysias as evidence for the existence of the *Synchoregia* c. 390. But it is quite impossible to get this sense out of the Greek, which runs: *χαλεπόν . . . τραγωδοῖς τε δις χορηγήσαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς*. He also tries to prove from Isaeus, 5. 36, that the *Synchoregia* was in existence in 389. But the reference there is to the Syntrierarchy, a very different thing.

<sup>4</sup> Vide args. of *Acharn.*, *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, etc., as compared with that of the *Plutus*. *Ath. Pol.*, 56, shows that the number of plays re-

mained at five until at least the last quarter of the fourth century.

<sup>5</sup> It is, I think, universally acknowledged that the absence of choral lyrics in the *Eccl.* and *Plutus* is not to be explained by faulty MS. transmission, in spite of *Clouds* 888. The evidence of the Grammarians as to the use of XOPOY and its presence in New Comedy are proof conclusive. In the case of the *Parabasis* we have a further indication of the same thing. The fact that the traditional appeal of the Chorus for victory, which should have formed part of the *Parabasis* in the *Eccl.*, appears in the *Exodus* shows clearly that Aristophanes never inserted a *Parabasis* in the play; and what is true of the *Eccl.* must be equally true of the *Plutus*, produced four years later.

<sup>6</sup> I borrow the term *Syzygy* from Zielinski and White as a convenient label for a perfectly recog-



comic framework in those very particulars which had been vital in the fifth century. The second difference, noticeable in the *Plutus* alone, is still more striking. I mean the rapid development of the *ἐπειρώδιον* at the expense of the other traditional constituents of comedy. For ultimate analysis the bare bones of Old Comedy are still there, if the omission of *Parabasis* and *Syzygies* is discounted: both *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* consist of *Prologus*, *Parodus*, and *Agon*, with connecting 'scenes,' followed by a number of *Epeisodia* which end with an *Exodus*. But in the *Plutus* the emphasis is thrown upon the episodes in quite a new way. Down to and including the *Ecclesiazusae*, the average number of *Epeisodia* in any play is two.<sup>1</sup> The *Plutus*, on the other hand, has five: and this, taken in connection with the absence of *Parabasis* and *Syzygies*, throws a vast amount of light on contemporary comic tendencies. Aristophanes is clearly feeling his way towards the purely episodic form characteristic of New Comedy as we know it in Menander, Plautus, and Terence; and the scraps of information which we possess as to the *Cocalus*<sup>2</sup> become very significant indeed when brought into relation with the structural readjustments of the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*. According to the Grammarians, the *Cocalus* had all the marks of a play of the New Comedy—rape, recognition, and tokens; and from their summary of its plot it is only logical to assume that it must have been constructed even more episodically than any comedy which had preceded it.

What caused this change at the close of Aristophanes' career? Did the impulse come from without or within? It is worth considering some of the proposed explanations. First, those which set to work from the outside and assume that economic pressure or official interference so restricted and emasculated the comic chorus that an alteration in the tone and methods of comedy itself became inevitable.

Let us take the economic theory. Something like financial chaos must clearly have occurred towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, and it is not difficult to suppose that the reduced comic choruses of the nineties are to be explained by the contemporary economic situation. But there are fatal objections to such a view. In the first place, we know from Dicaearchus<sup>3</sup> that there was a second performance of the *Frogs* after the restoration of the democracy, simply because of the salutary effect of its *Parabasis*; and the *Fishes* of Archippus, which had a chorus of fishes in the style of the *Birds*, was put on the stage c. 401-400, at all events after the fall of the Thirty. Here we have two comedies with a chorus on the traditional scale, one of which certainly, and the other very probably, had a *Parabasis*, produced in the years immediately after the war, when the economic crisis must have been at its height. Secondly, the passage of Lysias already quoted<sup>4</sup> proves that a *Synchoregus* spent sixteen *minae* as his share in the staging of one of Cephisodorus' plays in 402. If he could do that, why should we imagine that conditions after 400 grew serious enough to kill the chorus once and for all? The years 400-390 should *a priori* have been years of slow but steady improvement: and it is hardly satisfactory to beg the question by assuming in the face of the available dramatic evidence that they were not. Finally, the *Synchoregia* is itself a standing denial of the economic hypothesis. The *Synchoregia* was a deliberate defiance of the threatened effects of economic depression; and the fact that it was abolished early proves that the extraordinary

division of Aristophanes' earlier plays, similar to the *Syzygy* which closes the *Parabasis*. It consists of a *Srophe* and *Antistrophe* by the chorus, with an *Epirrhema* and *Antepirrhema* spoken by the actors. For variations in the order of their delivery v. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, p. 322, and Zielinski, *Die Gliederung*

der altattischen Komödie.

<sup>1</sup> Only the *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata* have three: and the *Peace* has merely one.

<sup>2</sup> Produced by Araros, Aristophanes' son, c. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Ar. *Frogs*, Arg. III.

<sup>4</sup> Lysias, 21. 4.

circumstances which had made it necessary were no longer operative.<sup>1</sup> I am not trying to show that a depression never existed; I simply wish to suggest that emergency measures were taken to counteract it, and that recovery was reasonably rapid. After all, it was the agricultural section of the population which had been hit hardest by the war; the limited monied class which derived most of its wealth from commerce and manufacture would not be so severely affected and would recover quickly. Further, we come across men like Andocides and Aristophanes who made money abroad and spent it lavishly in the city's service at home. Aristophanes has already been discussed: Andocides is an instance, and there must have been many, of the exile who came back to Athens after the amnesty and helped to bridge the years of financial dislocation with the wealth he had acquired during the war.<sup>2</sup>

If economics will not explain the partial disappearance of the comic chorus satisfactorily, can we assume instead that it was censored into obscurity by a definite bill forbidding τὸ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν? Two of the principal characteristics which differentiated Old from Middle Comedy were its vigorous chorus and its totally unrestricted criticism of figures of the moment, public policy, and social tendencies, often expressed through the medium of that chorus. Comic licence and the comic chorus were thus intimately connected; and when licence dies, it is only natural that its mouthpiece should die too. But the chorus was more than a mouthpiece for criticism: and a veto upon criticism does not imply a veto upon the chorus. A permanent veto such as we are considering might have killed the *Parabasis*: in fact, it probably would have. But why should the *Syzygies* disappear? Why should the chorus' part be whittled away and simplified until the poet did not think his lyrics worth publishing? The effect becomes utterly disproportionate to the cause. Secondly, a list of comedies produced between 405 and 392, as far as they are known, will be found to include the *Demotydareus* of Polyzelus (? 402), the *Rhion* of Archippus (? 400), and the *Ambassadors* of Plato (? 393); while perhaps about 390, or a little earlier, appeared the *Cinesias* of Strattis. All four were concerned with prominent contemporaries or political events, especially the *Ambassadors*; so comic licence cannot possibly have been restricted by law until 392 at the earliest, and it is difficult to see any reason for so abrupt a break with the tradition of free-speech even then. The known instances of such restriction in the fifth century, a decree of Morychis in 439, a decree of Syracosius in 415, and possibly a decree of Antimachus in 427, seem each to have had an extraneous cause: the revolt of Samos, the mutilation of the Hermae, or the revolt of Lesbos; and there must have been a strict censorship, though not necessarily a specific law, under the Thirty. In the present case we have to assume that no such cause was necessary. Finally, as Meineke has already shown,<sup>4</sup> comic criticism did not lose its bitterness with its bulk. Callistratus and Philocrates were lampooned in Eubulus' *Atalanta* and *Sphingocaron*: Demos-

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the number of comedies per festival was increased some time between the *Frogs* and the *Plutus* points in the same direction. Cp. *Infra*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> It is often assumed that the economic disorders of the last ten years of the fifth century continued for at least the first half of the fourth (e.g. by Haigh, pp. 53-4); without good reason. True, Dem. states that the tribe Pandionis failed to produce a dithyrambic *Choregus* for three years running c. 355; and Isoc. (15. 145) that c. 350 only 1200 citizens were available for liturgies as owning over three talents (cp. Isae. 3. 80: Dem. 27. 64: Harpocr. s.v. χιλιοι διακόσιοι). But this is to be interpreted as the result of the

gradual throttling of the prosperity of half a century (404 onwards) by the ever-increasing demands made on the rich through property-taxation for the support of the poor. The growth of Piraeus, rise of banking and credit, and commercial activity (proved by the retention of 12 per cent. as the current rate of interest in spite of the greatly increased amount of coin in circulation), which are noticeable from 500 onwards suggest anything but a prolonged depression. Cp. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II. 336 ff.

<sup>3</sup> An attack upon Epicrates and Phormisius who had taken bribes upon a recent mission to the Persian court.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragm. Comicorum Graec.* I. p. 273.

thenes and Hyperides in Timocles' *Delos*; and a number of titles can only represent plays in which contemporaries were satirized. All of this is inexplicable, if it is assumed that such criticism was banned by law early in the fourth century.

The hypotheses of economic depression and official interference fail to work; and the reason is that they are preoccupied with externals. They are advanced upon the assumption that comedy had to be forced to change its character; and that is to forget that comedy was a living growth whose continued existence implied development from within. I am not denying the possibility, or even the inevitability, of extraneous influences; we shall see that they can never be entirely discounted. But any theory as to the cause of the change which came over comedy at the beginning of the fourth century must start from the inside rather than from the outside.

Comedy differed from tragedy in its dependence upon novelty for success. Tragedy handled a practically static mass of legend, where repetition was expected and welcomed: and its development was essentially a development in psychological penetration and realism; the problem of fresh material did not arise. On the other hand, a joke dies at birth: and comedy required an untiring originality; fertility of invention was vital. A passage of Antiphanes states the difference quite explicitly:<sup>1</sup>

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωδία  
ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἰ γὰρ πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι  
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι  
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν . . . . .  
ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ  
εὑρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά, τὰ διψημένα  
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,  
τὴν εἰσβολὴν . . . . .

Closely connected with this incessant demand for fresh material was the further fact that comedy was delicately adjusted to popular sentiment; and changes in tone and movements away from the traditional type of plot are to be explained at least in part by *Zeitgeist*, even if they are also the necessary result of the eternal quest for fresh ideas. Now in 405 Athens suffered a crushing defeat: her empire had vanished like a dream: she was once more municipal, the grave of shattered ideals. After a bloody year of despotism democracy was restored: but it was a democracy whose spirit was broken. Bring this fact into relation with what has just been said as to the character of comedy, and it is at once plain that a great change was bound to come over the comic stage. Poets had still to be original, but in a new way. The interest in the larger issues of the day was dying, because those issues were, for Athens, things of the past. Attention switched from fact to theory, from doing to thinking. It was the dawn of the age of the philosophers, of individualism, and of public lassitude.

All this is borne out by what we know of the history of Aristophanes' later years. The *Ecclesiazusae*, the earliest play known to us of those written after Athens' collapse, is completely strange. It is not funny in the sense that the *Clouds* is funny: it is not topical in the sense that it is concerned with actualities. It is a rather tedious *reductio ad absurdum* of a piece of political theory which was attracting attention at the time. We have passed from the criticism of an Athens localised in Attica, confronted with this or that line of public action and divided between this or that sectional interest, to the criticism of an Athens *ἐν οὐρανῷ* which might equally well be called *x*, but for the fact that there are one or two chinks which let everyday fact peep through. But if comedy is growing amateurishly philosophical, it is also growing individualistic. The *Ecclesiazusae* opens in the old style by stating a broad

<sup>1</sup> Kock, 191.

public issue, the Women's Vote; but instead of developing along the traditional lines, it persists in concentrating upon the consequences to one or two persons whom it treats not as citizens embodying the interests of the state, but as men personifying private interests.<sup>1</sup> In the *Plutus* this individualism is still more noticeable: it is a domestic play in a sense in which none of the others are; and enough has been said of the *Cocalus* to show how much further Aristophanes apparently went in this direction.

Now what was the effect of this upon the chorus? Clearly comedy had reached much the same position as tragedy; in tragedy the chorus had lost its original connection with the action because it was obviously unsuited to take a genuine part in it. Consequently we find Agathon treating it quite consciously as a survival which was useful for filling in necessary pauses in the action with ἐμβόλιμα which had no relevancy at all; and Agathon was only pushing to its logical conclusion a process already begun by Sophocles and Euripides. A similar displacement was a condition of development in comedy as well. The chorus was suited to the Agora, but not to the fireside; and the more intimate, the more individualized comedy grew, the smaller grew the importance of the chorus. It had been vital to Old Comedy, admittedly; but Old Comedy had died with the Empire, and circumstances made innovation inevitable. In tragedy the process of attrition had been gradual, almost imperceptible; in comedy, thanks to comedy's immediate reaction to popular feeling, it was much more abrupt. The weakening of interest in the issues of the moment killed the *Parabasis*: the growing incongruity between chorus and characters who were primarily individuals instead of Athenians killed the *Syzygy*. There remained the *Parodus* and *Exodus*, which must have grown increasingly formal with the passage of time, and a number of interludes labelled ΧΟΡΟΙ which had no part in the development of the plot at all.

That is the conclusion to which the surviving plays of Aristophanes point. The remains of his contemporaries are unfortunately too fragmentary to be of much use; but they do yield a little interesting information. The years 404-400 were years of flux; comedy was hovering between the old and the new. There were one or two attempts to remain true to tradition (*Fishes* of Archippus, c. 400), suggested perhaps by the material momentarily provided by the Thirty (*Rhion* of Archippus). But between 400 and 392 the new spirit became articulate and the line of development more clearly defined. There were naturally exceptions here and there (*Ambassadors* of Plato); but it is quite clear that the main trend of comedy was in the new direction. Aristophanes would never have written the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, if they were not what his audiences wanted; his work must have been typical, because it was to be judged in open competition.

We have already seen that there are good reasons for dating the disappearance of the *Synchoregia* to c. 394. It is now clear that this was nothing but the result of the diminishing importance of the chorus; the movement of the chorus from the centre to the circumference of comedy reduced expenses, and that in its turn would lead to the abolition of the *Synchoregia*.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards (388) we find that the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Kähler, *De Ar. Eccl.*, Jena, 1889. As K. remarks, we expect after the *Prologus* to see husbands dressed in their wives' clothes complaining that they cannot go to the Ecclesia; instead, on comes Blepyrus bemoaning his poverty without a word as to his lost vote at all. So with his neighbour: they both think of themselves, not of Athens. It is the spirit of New Comedy. I fully agree with Kähler's analysis of the *Ecclesiazusae*: but I cannot agree with his explanation of the disappearance of the chorus.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of completeness I had better add that the alternative hypothesis, viz. that the abolition of the *Synchoregia* led to the dethronement of the chorus from the position of importance which it had occupied in the comedy of the fifth century, is untenable. If we assume that the chorus remained as vigorous as ever down to c. 394, and that it then suddenly lost *Parabasis*, *Syzygies*, etc., owing to the abolition of the *Synchoregia*, we are assuming in fact that expenditure was being officially limited, that the



number of comedies produced at each festival has been raised from three to five. It looks very much as though this dated from the disappearance of the *Synchoregia*; one of the six *Synchoregi* would be dropped for the future, and the remaining five, instead of paying half the expenses for one of three plays, would each bear the whole cost of one out of five. The downward trend of the chorus afforded an opportunity of so readjusting the choregic system as to give the public more entertainment at the same cost. We do not know the author or authors of these changes; the only name mentioned in connection with them is that of Cinesias, who apparently had something to do with a reorganization of the *Choregia* at the beginning of the fourth century; but our information is very scanty.<sup>1</sup>

Now for a different class of documents. I have said nothing hitherto of the Grammarians, as I wished to show in what direction the contemporary evidence pointed when considered in and by itself; but it is time to see what the later theorists on the subject have to say. The treatises and notes on the history and character of comedy collected in the *Prolegomena* vary greatly in value.<sup>2</sup> Only three of them will concern us here; Platonius, the Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax, and the *Vita Aristophanis*. Platonius<sup>3</sup> is confused and repetitious, but the following facts emerge. Comedy before 404 differed essentially from comedy after 404. Personal satire gave way to skits on legend, etc., partly because the Thirty restricted free speech, but chiefly because choruses could not be financed. And the reason for the difficulty over the financing was that lack of *προθυμία* made the Athenians refuse to elect *Choregi*.<sup>4</sup> The Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax is much more elaborate;<sup>5</sup> but a great deal of what he has to say does not concern us at the moment. He accounts for the transition from Old to Middle Comedy by a definite *ψήφισμα*: but his argument is thrown into confusion by an attempt to give details of this. The writer seems to date the transition well before 404: but after drowning Eupolis to account for it, he has to resurrect him again to supply himself with an instance of what the reformed

*Synchoregia* was not abolished because of returning prosperity, but from a desire to alter the whole development of comedy at a blow (otherwise it would have been retained). And such limitation of expenditure is flatly contradicted by the whole idea of public service as the Greeks conceived it.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 404 ff., quoted on p. 2. There is another reference in the scholium on *Ran.* 153: ὁ Κινέσιος ἐπραγματεύσατο κατὰ τῶν κωμικῶν ὡς εἴεν ἀχορήγητοι. According to Aristotile's *Didascaliae* (Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1377 ff.) there were two persons named Cinesias: so there may have been some confusion. The *Choregia* was not abolished, of course, until the very end of the fourth century: and the Schol. may have misinterpreted a reference to the removal of the *Synchoregia* which would have the effect of clinching the subordinate position of the chorus for the future (hence Strattis' *χοροκτόνος* K.). Capps prefers to take *χοροκτόνος* in a purely metaphorical sense, as Cinesias was a notoriously bad poet (*A.J.A.*, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> There are thirteen in all, plus two epigrams on Aristophanes. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13 either have nothing to say about the chorus or are repeated *verbatim* in the three discussed above.

<sup>3</sup> His argument can be summarized as follows:

(a) Under the democracy no restriction was placed upon poets.

(b) Under the Thirty legal satisfaction became possible for the victims lampooned: one instance was the drowning of Eupolis by his enemies.

(c) Athenians no longer 'felt like' voting *Choregi* (*προθυμίαν εἶχον*). Instance: the *Aeoloscicon* had no choral lyrics.

(d) Change of plot followed. Character of Middle Comedy typified by *Aeoloscicon*, 'Ὀδυσσεὺς of Cratinus, and numbers of Old Comedies without *Parabases* or lyrics.

(e) Middle Comedy omitted *Parabasis*, because there were no choruses after the disappearance of *Choregi*.

<sup>4</sup> The 'election' is of course nonsense. *Choregi* were appointed by an Archon until c. 307 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> He can be summarized thus:

(a) Opposition of the rich produces a Middle Comedy of innuendo out of the Old Comedy of abuse, and New Comedy out of Middle.

(b) Old Comedy ends with the drowning of Eupolis by Alcibiades, who was *Strategus* at the time, in revenge for the sarcasms of the *Baptae*.

(c) Bill passed by Alcibiades permitting satire by innuendo only: obeyed by Eupolis and others. Hence Middle Comedy.

(d) Even innuendo is forbidden: hence New Comedy, which falls back on beggars and aliens.

comedy was like. Lastly there is the *Vita Aristophanis*,<sup>1</sup> which also bristles with irrelevancies. Here again a *ψήφισμα* appears, restricting comic licence: and with it the statement that there was a cessation in the supply of *Choregi*; the connection between the two, however, cannot be ascertained from the text.

There is certainly enough confusion and contradiction here. But perhaps a little sense can be extracted by considering separately what the three versions have to say as to (a) the date and (b) the reasons for and means employed to effect the transition from Old to Middle Comedy. First the question of date. According to Platonius, Old Comedy died in 404 under the Thirty. Middle Comedy and the enfeebled chorus apparently came in immediately afterwards. The Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax goes into more detail. Old Comedy ends for him with the drowning of Eupolis by Alcibiades, which was followed at once by a bill, also due to Alcibiades, explicitly inaugurating Middle Comedy. Alcibiades was a *Strategus* at the time, and on the point of setting sail with his troops. This might refer to 415 or 407; the writer almost certainly intended it to refer to 415. In 415 Syracosius passed a decree forbidding τὸ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν, doubtless in connection with the Hermocopids. It probably had the effect of temporarily checking comic licence, and suggested plots which, speaking very loosely, might be said to be prophetic of Middle Comedy.<sup>2</sup> But the machinery of Old Comedy remained untouched, and the restriction was soon dropped. The Scholiast seems to have known that the change from Old to Middle Comedy was somehow connected with a *Psephisma*; he was further aware that a decree restricting comic licence had been passed in 415; and he mistakenly associated this with Alcibiades, who was very much to the fore just then, and who had been bitterly attacked that same year in the *Baptae* of Eupolis—a nonsensical theory which its author himself disproves at once by quoting Eupolis as a leading representative of the changed comedy which supervened after 415, and coupling Cratinus, Pherecrates, Plato, and Aristophanes with him.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the chronological evidence reduces itself to the statement of Platonius that the transition from Old Comedy to Middle was initiated in 404. Next comes the question of reasons and methods. Platonius gives two reasons for the change: the possibility of gaining legal redress under the Thirty and a lack of *προθυμία* on the part of the *Demos*; but says nothing of the methods by which it was effected. The Scholiast gives both methods and reasons: a *ψήφισμα* of Alcibiades due to the unpopularity of Eupolis. The *Vita Aristophanis* gives the method without the reason: a *ψήφισμα χορηγικόν* forbidding personalities in comedy. Both the Scholiast and the *Vita* agree that there was a *ψήφισμα*; but each is guilty of confusion. As we have seen, the Scholiast's preoccupation with Alcibiades and the decree of Syracosius led him to thrust back the date of the transition; and the author of the *Vita* is equally clumsy at interpreting his sources. As the text stands, the result of the *ψήφισμα χορηγικόν* was the cessation of personalities in comedy. Yet a choregic decree ought to have had something to do with *Choregi*; and the fact that it actually had is, I think, borne out by the text, which runs: ψηφίσματος γὰρ γενομένου χορηγικοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The vital points are:

(a) A *ψήφισμα χορηγικόν* was passed forbidding personal satire. Old Comedy's *raison d'être* was now gone. There were also no more *Choregi*.

(b) First result: *Cocalus*. Model for New Comedy (Philemon and Menander).

(c) Second result: *Plutus*. XOPOT inserted to give the actors a rest and time to change. Also imitated by New Comedy.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Aristophanes' *Amphiarauos* and *Birds*.

<sup>3</sup> Eupolis is continually turning up as a *corpus vile* in the Grammarians; and the sole consistent

piece of information about him which emerges is the fact that he was drowned. This is confirmed by tradition generally, with the further detail that the scene of his death was a battle at sea against Sparta (Suidas). We know from Cicero, *Att.* 6. 1, that he survived 415 by several years; so it is conceivable that he met his end at Cynossema or Aegospotami, an assumption which would explain how Platonius comes to date his death c. 404. But the association of the author of the *Baptae* with drowning is suspicious, to say the least of it.

ὥστε μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινα, καὶ τῶν χορηγῶν οὐκ ἀντεχόντων πρὸς τὸ χορηγεῖν. . . . The effect of the decree must surely have been the failure of *Choregi*, not the disappearance of personalities. Now it is certain from epigraphical and literary evidence that the comic *Choregia* was not entirely abolished. At the same time, the Scholiast on Dionysius and the author of the *Vita* had far too little originality to invent the story about the *Psephisma*. It looks very much as though they found a reference to a ψήφισμα χορηγικόν which had partly caused the transition from Old to Middle Comedy, and proceeded to draw their own conclusions from it.

The method by which the change was effected thus appears to have been a definite decree, reorganizing in some way the relations of comedy to the *Choregi* who financed it; and the reason for the change partly the repression of free speech by the Thirty,<sup>1</sup> and partly a lack of προθυμία on the part of the Athenian people. For what it is worth, this evidence tallies with the conclusions which we have already reached independently. First there is the extraneous cause, the deadweight of autocracy which for the moment crushed the life out of comedy: and then there is the deeper cause, the innate tendency towards change, hastened by the downfall of the Empire which led to a period of ever growing ῥαθυμία. 'For what it is worth' needs underlining, as it is fatally easy to use the Grammarians tendenciously. They are ignorant, rambling, and incredibly stupid; much of what they say has to be discounted at once. But at the same time, they must have drawn upon sources of some value, probably Alexandrian and remotely descended from Peripatetic researches into the history of Attic drama which are now lost. That is why I have discussed them separately and only after a consideration of the contemporary evidence. In combination with that evidence they provide useful hints; examined in and by themselves they merely darken counsel.

There is far less material for the reconstruction of the history of the chorus between Aristophanes and Menander, as the relevant fragments are difficult to date, and the literary references are for the most part inconclusive. I shall state the available evidence, however, and try to introduce some sort of order into it. But before beginning I must clear up a difficulty which I have postponed until now for convenience. What is the true meaning of XOPOΥ? Had the chorus declined by the year 388 to the extent of appearing only in the *Parodus* and *Exodus*, leaving the intervals to be filled by a flute-solo; or did it still perform compressed and simplified lyrics during those intervals in the traditional manner?

The case for giving XOPOΥ a purely formal significance is stated by Kähler,<sup>2</sup> who wants to leave the chorus with nothing but a rather unsubstantial *Parodus* and *Exodus*. He bases his argument upon the economic situation. Money was short, and poets had to aim at cheapness of production; consequently the part of the chorus becomes purely skeletal, and its *Stasima* are taken over by a flute-soloist. Kähler disagrees with Enger and Arnoldt, who thought that XOPOΥ was the signal for a dance to a flute-accompaniment, on the ground that they are contradicted by a fragment of Plato's *Σκευαί*.<sup>3</sup> Further, according to him, we cannot suppose, as is generally done,<sup>4</sup> that XOPOΥ stands for a lyric which was never published, because we have songs written for the *Ecclesiazusae*.<sup>5</sup>

Now for the difficulties which this theory raises. In the first place, we have already seen that economics will not explain the change in the position of the comic chorus; and once economics are discounted, Kähler can offer no valid reason for what amounts to an obliteration of the chorus. It is intelligible that an increasingly

<sup>1</sup> Individualized as Alcibiades in the Scholiast's version.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Kock, 130. The fragment in question runs:

ὥστ' εἰ τις ὀρχοῖτ' εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν· νῦν δὲ δρωσιν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι σταδὸν ἐστῶτες ὀρίονται.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. by Ritter, Ribbeck, Boeckh, and Zielinski.

<sup>5</sup> 893 ff. is an example quoted by Kähler.

individualistic treatment of plot should have the effect of severing the connection of the choral lyrics with the play as a whole, and of rendering their composition and execution more and more perfunctory; but it is not intelligible that it should have the effect of suddenly sweeping away altogether an element which had been intimately associated with comedy from its first beginnings. Similar troubles had afflicted the chorus in tragedy, and in tragedy the problem was solved by *ἐμβόλιμα*. We have no reason to suppose that comedy did not compromise with tradition in the same way. Agathon had already introduced his *ἐμβόλιμα*; though it is not so much a question of imitation as of independent evolution along lines which were in certain respects necessarily similar. Indeed the theory that XOPOY stands for an *ἐμβόλιμον* suppressed in publication is strikingly supported by certain recently discovered papyrus fragments of a fourth-century tragedy, perhaps an *Oeneus*.<sup>1</sup> The exact date is not so important as the fact that two passages of iambs are separated by the words XOPOY M[ΕΛΟΣ]. It is clear that the heading marked an *ἐμβόλιμον* which was so far disconnected from the play as a whole as not to be inserted in the published version; and when a corresponding heading appears in comedy, it is unnatural to interpret it differently. This is not affected by Kähler's contention that the presence of lyrics in the *Ecclesiazusae* proves that the *Stasima* would also have been published, if they had ever existed; he is forgetting to draw necessary distinctions. The lyrics which appear in the text are sung by actors and have a vital connection with the plot; they are part of the play in a sense in which the *Stasima* were not. Lastly, the evidence of the *Σκευαί* is two-edged. Kähler quotes it as proof of the decay of choric dancing; but, as the title shows, it probably refers to tragedy rather than comedy, and there are grounds for dating its production as early as 407: so that it is not necessarily evidence for the decay of choric dancing in comedy at the time of the *Ecclesiazusae*. And quite apart from that, it proves too much. It may show that choric dancing has deteriorated; but it shows equally clearly that the chorus is singing as vigorously as ever. It may prove Enger and Arnoldt wrong when they assume that the intervals marked by XOPOY were filled by simple dancing to a flute-accompaniment: but it also proves Kähler himself wrong in maintaining that choric song had disappeared.

XOPOY, then, does not represent a flute-solo. On the other hand, there is no need to introduce a hypothetical set of dancers distinct from the chorus proper. That is unnecessary elaboration, just as the other was unnecessary simplification; and it is contradicted by the text of the *Plutus*.<sup>2</sup> If there was dancing to be done, the chorus was there to do it. But dancing by itself is not enough; dancing always went with song.<sup>3</sup> And the phrases *κομμάτιον χοροῦ* and *χοροῦ μέλος*<sup>4</sup> irresistibly suggest lyrics of some sort. In addition to that we have the explicit statement of the *Vita Aristophanis*<sup>5</sup> that some form of choric ode was written to fill the gaps in the action. There is no reason, then, to reject the natural interpretation of XOPOY, 'song and dance by the Chorus': although it is unnecessary to suppose that these latter-day *Stasima* were written as *κτῆματα ἐς αἰεὶ*.

Comedy becomes a shadowy affair after Aristophanes; Athenaeus had read eight hundred Middle-comedy plays: but not one of them has come down to us.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 688 and 2822.

<sup>2</sup> *Ll.* 316-321, where εἶδος can only mean 'change your style.'

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Plato, *Laws* II. 654b: *χορεία γε μὴν ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ ᾠδῇ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν*, and v. Körte, *Hermes*, 1908, for a sensible discussion of the question.

<sup>4</sup> *Plutus*, 771. *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 688, 2822.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita*, 11: *εἰς τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι τὰ σκηνικὰ πρόσωπα καὶ μετεσκευάσθαι ἐπιγράφει XOΠOT,*

*φθεγγόμενος ἐν ἐκείνοις ἃ καὶ ὁρώμεν τοὺς νέους, οὕτως ἐπιγράφοντας ἥλιψ' Ἀριστοφάνους.*

I have inserted a comma after νέους; thus punctuated, the sentence seems to me to be quite satisfactory. There is no need to suppose it corrupt. Cp. also Vitruvius, *Lib. V, Praef.* 4: *Graeci quoque poetae comici interponentes e choro canticum diviserunt spatia fabularum*; which is almost certainly a reference to New Comedy.



Many of the poets are mere names, and doubtful names at that; so we can hardly dogmatize over their treatment of the chorus. If I appear henceforward to stress the positive importance of the chorus, it is only because it is impossible to discover how far the chorus had become a nonentity.

First the question of size. In the fifth century the comic chorus had numbered twenty-four; but it is *a priori* probable that it should shrink after the omission of *Parabasis*, *Syzygies*, and elaborate *Stasima*. One piece of indirect evidence seems to support this. In discussing whether a state changes its identity if the constitution is altered and the citizen-body remains the same, Aristotle remarks that the case of a tragic and a comic chorus is exactly parallel; the same *Choreutae* compose both: yet each is distinct from the other.<sup>1</sup> Now to give the comparison any force at all, the size of both choruses must be equal; so it looks as though by the second half of the fourth century the chorus in comedy did not number more than fifteen. Both tragic and comic may have been less of course; there is not enough evidence to decide. Admittedly, in a fragment of the *Orestautoclides* of Timocles,<sup>2</sup> which may also date to roughly the middle of the century, a chorus of eleven appears. But the *Orestautoclides* is a special case; it is a skit upon the Orestes legend, and has a chorus of harlots who chase Autoclides and finish up with an Aeschylean trial before the *Parabyston*. The chorus take the place of the Eleven, who presided in the *Parabyston*; hence their number. The play is more remarkable as an instance of the extent to which the chorus could be revitalized and made the centre of dramatic interest half-way through the fourth century than as a proof of its numerical reduction. If we do admit a reduction from twenty-four to fifteen or less, it would seem to be a result of the reorganization of the *Choregia* and the alteration in the number of plays produced, and would therefore date to the early years of the century.

The question of dramatic importance is much more delicate. The *Orestautoclides* cannot be treated as typical of the place occupied by the chorus in Middle Comedy generally, because it is a deliberate skit composed upon lines predetermined by the *Oresteia*. But it does prove that the chorus was still full of potential vigour and that the dramaturgical laws which later froze it into a convention had not yet defined themselves. A passage of Aeschines<sup>3</sup> suggests much the same thing. When prosecuting Timarchus in 345, Aeschines mentions a joke made about him in a recent comedy. The fact that the joke was made by an actor to the chorus implies not only that the chorus in contemporary comedy was present throughout the action, but that it also took a definite part in the dialogue. Unfortunately the reference is to a play performed at the Rural Dionysia, and there arises the difficulty of determining precisely how far comedy at the Dionysia *κατ' ἄγρους* was representative of comedy in Athens proper. Tragedy at the Rural Dionysia was certainly in the hands of third-rate actors who toured round producing old plays, generally very badly; but whether this was true of comedy is not so clear. The literary and epigraphic evidence refers principally to tragedy: and when an occasional inscription mentions comedy,<sup>4</sup> there is nothing to show whether the plays in question are revivals or not. A distinction between comedy and tragedy is obviously necessary here. Tragedy had a permanent appeal, and could be performed a century after it was written as successfully as ever. But comedy, and especially Old Comedy, was dated to the year and day of its first appearance. The ephemeral complex of circumstances which originally made it a success was gone, and any attempt to reproduce it *in toto*

<sup>1</sup> Pol. 3. 3. 1276b: ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ χορὸν ὅτε μὲν κωμικὸν ὅτε δὲ τραγικὸν ἕτερον εἶναι φάμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων.

<sup>2</sup> Kock, 25.

<sup>3</sup> In Tim. 157: πρῶτῃ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄγρους Διονυ-

σίοις κωμῶδων ὄντων ἐν Κολλυντῇ καὶ Παριμένοντος τοῦ κωμικοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ εἰπόντος τι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ἀνάπαιστον ἐν ᾧ ἦν εἶναι τινὰ πόρνον μεγάλους Τιμαρχώδεις . . .

<sup>4</sup> E.g. I.G. II. 585, a performance at Aexonē.

doomed to fail. Possibly, as Capps suggests,<sup>1</sup> titles such as the *Peace* of Eubulus, the *Knights* of Antiphanes, the *Plutus* of Nicostratus, and the *Lemnias* of Alexis are evidence of attempts to modernize old plays in structure and dialogue. However that may be, comedy at the Rural Dionysia cannot have been out of all relation to contemporary drama; and especially is this true of a play performed at Collytus. Some of the outlying country demes may have been backward: but Collytus was too close to Athens to be behind the times. In fact, the reference to Timarchus by name in the comedy in question proves that it was not mere *crambe repetita*.

Thus the chorus seems still to have been present during the action half-way through the fourth century, and it may also have taken some part in the dialogue. Whether this was true of all comic choruses at the time we cannot of course know; but twenty years or so later we find a chorus in what is apparently the same position as this one at Collytus: an actor addresses it and tells it to dance.<sup>2</sup> The play is Alexis' *Trophonius*; and the curious thing is that the speaker talks to the chorus in Eupolideans, essentially an Old-comic metre and practically confined to the *Parabasis*.<sup>3</sup> Now though we have nothing to do with a *Parabasis* in the *Trophonius*, Alexis may well have had his eye on the past; Cratinus had written a *Trophonius*: and Aristophanes had chosen a very similar plot in the *Plutus*. Alexis' Boeotians probably bore a strong resemblance to Carion's band of farmers, did we but know it. The play apparently belongs to the last quarter of the fourth century.<sup>4</sup>

The chorus was equally important in the ? *Πόλεις* of Heniochus, where it represented the various Greek states meeting at an Olympic congress. Part of the *Prologus* survives: but it breaks off before the names of the different cities are given. The play is a curious parallel to the *Nῆσοι* of Aristophanes; and it is most unfortunate that we cannot be certain of its date.<sup>5</sup> Kock would put it half-way through the third century. If he is right, it is a startling example of the latent vigour of the chorus long after the death of Menander; but his arguments are not decisive, and it might equally well be fourth-century work.

And now we turn to a divergent line of development. I have hitherto emphasized the continuity of treatment, the conservative adherence to custom, which can be traced in the scattered fragments of choruses of Middle and New Comedy. But that is only half of the picture. With Menander a new type of play appears, a play which

<sup>1</sup> A.J.A. X.

<sup>2</sup> Kock, 237. The lines are:

νῦν δ' ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς Βοιωτοὶ  
φαίνῃσθ' εἶναι τοῖς διασῦρειν ὑμᾶς εἰθισμένοις  
ὥς ἀκίνητοι νῦν εἶναι βοῶν καὶ πονεῖν μόνον  
καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τέλους τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην  
γυμνοῦσθ' αὐτοὺς θάπτον ἅπαντες.

The third line of the text is corrupt, but the general sense is clear enough. The oracle of Trophonius was at Lebadea: hence the chorus is composed of Boeotians. For the dancing cp. Schol. Ar. *Pax* 729: γυμνὸν γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὸν χορὸν οἱ κωμικοὶ ἀεὶ, ἵνα ὀρχῇται.

<sup>3</sup> Only two examples out of fourteen do not come from a *Parabasis*. (a) A fragment from the *Thracian Women* of Cratinus, Kock 74, which is seriously corrupted, but certainly written in Eupolideans and equally certainly a piece of dialogue; (b) a fragment from the *Sicyonius* of Alexis, Kock 206, which is a more doubtful instance of the metre.

<sup>4</sup> My reasons for dating it thus are as follows. In fragm. 1 of the same play occurs:

εἰθ' ὁ Μοσχίων, ὁ παραμαστῆτης ἐν βροτοῖς αὐδῶμενος.

Now Moschion recurs in the *Phileuripides* of Axionicus and the *Phoenicides* of Strato. We know that Axionicus was writing during the reign of Alexander: and the reference to a Philetas, who can only be the famous Philetas of Cos, in the *Phoenicides* dates that play to 300 B.C. at the earliest, as it was not until then that Philetas came into prominence. It follows that we must place the *Trophonius* late in the fourth century, most probably in the last quarter of it, as Moschion would not remain a subject of topical allusion for a vast number of years.

<sup>5</sup> The present congress at Olympia is contrasted in the text with earlier ones which seem to have fallen after the Peloponnesian War, but its object is not stated. Kock thinks that the only date possible is one immediately after the Chremonidean War of 265: but that implies that the play must have been based on historical fact. Why could it not have been nationalist propaganda or pure imagination?

is entirely dependent upon a neat intricacy of plot.<sup>1</sup> It is familiar to us in Plautus and Terence, and in Menander's own fragments: and is characterized by a highly formalized structure. The changes noticed in the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* have been pushed to a logical conclusion; *Parodus*, *Agon*, and *Exodus* are mere shadows:<sup>2</sup> and the play consists wholly of episodes, with the chorus packed away into the interstices.

There is a good deal of scattered evidence to show that these 'acts' were conventionally limited to five as early as Menander,<sup>3</sup> whence they passed into Roman comedy. Thus Donatus<sup>4</sup> says of the *Adelphoe*: '*Hoc etiam, ut cetera huiusmodi poemata, quinque actus habeat necesse est choris divisos a Graecis poetis.*' If this is so, it is clearly of the greatest importance for the history of the chorus to find out when the five-act comedy first made its appearance. The earliest in date of the 'huiusmodi poemata' of Terence (I will come to Plautus in a moment) is the *Heauton*, an adaptation of Menander's *Heauton* which was written in 323 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Now Terence's play definitely demands four clear pauses in the action, although they do not coincide with the MS. divisions;<sup>6</sup> and the plot is so nicely dovetailed that if it represents Menander at all, it must represent him entire. Ambivius, in fact, emphasizes this when he says: '*Ex integra Graeca integram comoediam hodie sum acturus Heauton Timorumenon.*'<sup>7</sup> So we seem to have a lower limit for the introduction of the five-act convention. But that is not all. Internal evidence is strongly in favour of a fourth-century date for the *Persa* of Plautus; recent opinion assigns it to the period before Alexander's conquest of Persia: and Wilamowitz goes so far as to put it in the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus.<sup>8</sup> If this is sound, the *Persa* is an invaluable survival from a very sparsely represented period of Greek comedy. Like the other plays of Plautus it is divided into five acts, although rather unevenly; and that raises the vital question whether its present form is the result of ruthless adaptation or due to the economy of the original. Was the Greek version a descendant from the *Plutus* in the line of the comedy performed at Collytus and Alexis' *Trophonius*? Or was it a five-act comedy of the *Epitrepontes-Periceivomenē* type? Those, I think, are the two alternatives;<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Menander's remark in Plutarch, *Glor. Ath.* 347e: πεποίηκα τὴν κωμῶδιαν, ψκονόμῳται γὰρ ἡ διάθεσις· δεῖ δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπῆσαι.

<sup>2</sup> Thus it has been pointed out that the arbitration-scene in the *Epitrepontes* is a relic of the *Agon*. 'Debates' can be traced in many Roman comedies as well (e.g. *Persa*, Act II, Sc. 2): in all by those who are determined to find them there. But excavation of this sort is always of very doubtful value.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is summarized and criticized in Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 464 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Praef. Adelphoe*, I. 4. Wessner, Vol. 2, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The date is fixed on the internal evidence of ll. 117 and 194 by Bethe, who thinks it was produced as Men.'s first comedy in 321. Clark, *Class. Phil.* 1906, gives good reasons for supposing that it was both written and produced in 324-3.

<sup>6</sup> The break at the end of Act II must certainly be common to Menander and Terence, as a complete night intervenes. Similarly, at the close of IV Menedemus and Chremes leave the stage for a considerable interval, and return to it at the beginning of V; it has been empty in the meanwhile. On the other hand, the old division between III and IV will not do: it makes III end with the opening of a door, and Sostrata does not come out until the beginning of IV. It

may mark a fresh scene; but Act IV cannot begin until l. 668 at least. Further, Flickinger has shown quite decisively that Act I ends at 170 for Menander. Vide *Class. Phil.* 1912, and infra p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Heauton*, Prol. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> The internal evidence amounts to this. Timarchides of Athens is serving with the King of Persia in Arabia, and the 'Persian' sells a captive Arab girl in Athens. In line 498 Persia is used as including Arabia; and that can only have been possible when Persian dominion was at its height. Although in 506 (*Chrysopolim Persae cepere urbem in Arabia*), Chrysopolis is a patent fiction, and the entire story concocted by Toxilus to fool Dordalus, the validity of the reference to Persian power is not affected: the deception has to have some semblance of truth, and will not therefore have passed the bounds of historical probability. Wilamowitz first drew attention to this evidence: and he has been followed since by Leo and Hüffner. He is attacked by M. Meyer (*Persa* of Plautus. *Comment. Phil. Jenenses*, 1907, Vol. 8, pt. 1): but I think that the balance of probability still rests on the side of an early date.

<sup>9</sup> The possibility that the original of the *Persa* might have consisted of either more or less than five acts can be discounted in view of the entire

it is of no use to argue, as Wilamowitz does,<sup>1</sup> that as the present division into acts is top-heavy in places, the original version must have been constructed on 'some different plan'; the only different plan available was a plan of the *Plutus*-type, which allowed a great deal more importance to the chorus and was conservative in structure. The real question is whether the *Persa* in its present form is to be derived from this *Plutus*-type or not; and the answer is that it is not. Reconstruction of the *Persa* as a play based on the old scheme of *Prologus*, *Parodus*, *Agon*, *Epeisodia*, and *Exodus* is possible to a certain extent; lines 1-53 would be the *Prologus*: the *Parodus* might be omitted, and Saturio's monologue substituted;<sup>2</sup> and Act II, Sc. 2 would be the *Agon*. But that is as far as we can go. Act IV, which is three hundred lines long, is an indivisible whole and can never have been split into *Epeisodia*; nor can we suppose that it is largely an addition of Plautus' own: it is so vital to the play that it must stand or fall as a unit. On the other hand, the objections to a five-act original narrow down to two: the length of the fourth act, and the fact that the stage is empty five times during the first three. Now although the fourth act is considerably longer than the rest, the lack of symmetry has parallels in Plautus,<sup>3</sup> and we have no reason to expect a perfectly uniform division. Nor is the emptying of the stage a real difficulty. Two of the five breaks occur at the end of acts: and with none of the others is there the slightest need to suppose a definite pause.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the conclusion to be drawn from them is not, I think, that the *Persa* is a clumsy attempt on the part of Plautus to force a five-act structure upon recalcitrant material, but that it is a reasonably faithful adaptation of the work of a poet still unfamiliar with the possibilities of the five-act play.

The Greek original of the *Persa*, then, resembled the *Heauton* and *Epitrepontes* of Menander rather than the *Trophonius* of Alexis: and the internal evidence is in favour of a date before 330.<sup>5</sup> So there are good grounds for thinking that the diverging lines of comic development made their appearance some time before the *Heauton* of 323.<sup>6</sup> And now what of the chorus during the Menandrian period itself? We have seen that it clung to traditional forms in a few cases; but from 330 onwards the five-act play rapidly increased in popularity, and necessarily caused considerable readjustments in comedy's constituent elements. How was the chorus affected here?

The answer will best be found by considering the four fragmentary plays of Menander which contain a reference to XOPOY.<sup>7</sup> In the *Epitrepontes* XOPOY occurs

absence of evidence as to the occurrence of such an irregular number in Greek comedy. But even if it is admitted, the alternatives stated above hold good. Either the *Persa* was episodic, or it was built on the old pattern.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Wilamowitz, *Das Schiedsgericht*, p. 121, note 1. Wil. objects to the length of Act IV and the fact that the stage is empty five times in the first three acts.

<sup>2</sup> Act I, Sc. 2. The monologue is almost entirely irrelevant, and is strongly Roman in language. Leo has observed that once or twice in Plautus a song by a Parasite or other character which does nothing to further the action is inserted at points where XOPOY would naturally have occurred in the Greek version. Cp. *Hermes*, 1908, and *Most.* 313, *Cure.* 461, and *Asin.* 809.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Casina*. Here Act II is as much out of proportion as Act IV of the *Persa*; and if the first scene of Act III is included in it, as it obviously must be (cp. Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 472), it becomes longer still.

<sup>4</sup> The stage is empty at lines 53, 167, 250, 328, 399, and 753. 167, 328, and 753 are the end of Acts I, II, and IV. The emptying of the stage at 399 is to be explained, I feel sure, as the true close of Act III: at present Toxilus remains on the stage throughout the interval between III and IV, and that is very unsatisfactory. I cannot agree with Legrand's division of the play into acts beginning at 53, 329, 449, and 753: his reasons are entirely unconvincing (p. 488, note 5).

<sup>5</sup> I cannot help feeling that Act V with its drinking and buffoonery and dances on the stage supports a fourth-century date for the *Persa*. It has moments of sheer Old Comedy in it.

<sup>6</sup> Legrand (*op. cit.*, p. 465) argues that the introduction of a five-act play must have been later than the time of Aristotle, or he would have mentioned it. But Aristotle's treatise on comedy has been lost: and his silence therefore means nothing.

<sup>7</sup> The plays concerned are the *Epitrepontes*, *Pericciromenê*, *Samia*, and ?*Epicleus*.

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twice in fairly well-preserved contexts and once in a hopelessly mutilated one from which nothing can be concluded.<sup>1</sup> It first appears in the following:<sup>2</sup>

ἴωμεν· ὥς καὶ μειρακυλλίων ὄχλος  
εἰς τὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων,  
οἷς μὴ 'νοχλεῖν εὐκαιρον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

## ΧΟΡΟΥ.

The identity of the speaker is uncertain:<sup>3</sup> although I am inclined to agree with Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> that at the close of this (badly mutilated) act only Chaerestratus and his friend Simmias are still on the stage; the question is not vital, however. It is clear that the two actors dissociate themselves entirely from the approaching κῶμος and are careful to leave the stage empty for it; and it is equally clear that the κῶμος and the chorus are one and the same.<sup>5</sup>

The occasion of the chorus' next appearance is no less interesting, even if the reference to it by the actors is more doubtful. The relevant lines are:<sup>6</sup>

ΟΝΗΣ. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν συνάγουσι, καὶ  
οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκαιρον τὸ μνηγεῖν ἄσως \*  
αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων· αὔριον δέ. ΣΥΡ. καταμενῶ.

Then four lines later comes ΧΟΡΟΥ. Here there is no question as to the speakers. Onesimus explains to Syrisus that he cannot very well bother his master at the moment, as a banquet is about to start. I say 'about to start'; but there has been a dispute over the precise meaning of συνάγουσι in the first line. Bethe<sup>7</sup> wants to give it the impossible sense of 'have already assembled,' with the implication that the feast is already in progress: so that for him there can be no connection between the guests at the banquet and the chorus which now appears. Personally I can see no objection to taking συνάγουσι in its natural sense of 'assembling'; and if the chorus is to be proved distinct from the guests, it will have to be on other grounds than the meaning of line 1. I shall return to this later; for the moment it is enough to notice that there is no communication between chorus and actors. And now for the evidence of a chorus in the other three plays. In the *Periceironomē* the chorus is announced<sup>8</sup> in much the same way as it is in the first passage of the *Epitrepontes* quoted above; but the preceding scene is missing:

ΔΑΟΣ. παῖδες. μεθύοντα μεράκια προσέρχεται  
πάμπολλ'. ἐπαινῶ διαφόρως κεκτημένην·  
εἴσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰσάγει τὴν μεράκα·  
τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτηρ· ὁ τρόφιμος ζητητέος·  
ἦκειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὴν ταχίστην ἐνθάδε  
εὐκαιρον εἶναι φαίνεται, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.

## ΧΟΡΟΥ.

<sup>1</sup> The third passage is ll. 584-5 of the *Cairo Fragment*. The heading ΧΟΡΟΥ is certain enough: but only a portion of the final words of the preceding lines is preserved.

<sup>2</sup> *Epitr.* St. Petersburg Fragm. ll. 33-5.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Van Leeuwen assigns the lines, very improbably, to the Cook.

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz is following Jernstedt. Jensen takes the same view.

<sup>5</sup> I may say here that I do not intend to raise the question whether the stage was high or low at this date; it is not vital to my immediate subject. Perhaps, though, it is worth pointing

out that if the actors were elevated to any great distance from the Orchestra, their terror at the approach of 'drunks' becomes a little ludicrous.

<sup>6</sup> *Cairo Fragment*, 195 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. *Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, Leipzig, LX (1908), 209 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 71 ff. The end of Act I. If we suppose with Allinson that this is the end of Act II, and that Act I finishes with Agnoia's speech, how is it that there is no trace of a ΧΟΡΟΥ between the first and second acts, where the text is preserved complete? See Loeb *Menander*, ed. F. G. Allinson.

Again there is a clean division between actors and chorus; and again the chorus is a drunken *κῶμος* at the approach of which the stage empties itself. In the *Samia*, on the other hand, XOPOY occurs at the close of a fairly well-preserved scene; and it is perfectly clear from the text that in this case there was no reference to the entry of the chorus at all. The act ends with:<sup>1</sup>

ΔΗΜ. πόει

τᾶνδον εὐτρεπῇ. ΝΙΚ. ποιήσω. ΔΗΜ. τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ κωλύει.  
 ΝΙΚ. κομψὸς εἶ. ΔΗΜ. χάριν δὲ πολλὴν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχω  
 οὐδὲν εὐρηκὼς ἀληθὲς ὧν τότ' ὤμην καταλαβεῖν.

## XOPOY.

Demeas, Moschion's father, persuades Niceratus, Plangon's father, to consent to a wedding; and they both go off the stage to make the necessary arrangements.

Then finally comes the chorus in the ? *Epiclesus*.<sup>2</sup> Here again just enough of the context is preserved to allow an estimation of the relation between chorus and plot. The dialogue runs as follows:<sup>3</sup>

X. μόνῃ

δεῖ τῇ γυναικὶ ταῖς τε παιδισκαῖς φράσαι  
 αὐταῖς, ἵνα μὴ κλάωσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἰάν  
 ἔνδον παροινεῖν εἰς με νομίσαντας νεκρόν.  
 Ν. ὀρθῶς λέγεις· εἰσω τις ἀγέτω τουτονί.  
 ἔξει τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβὴν οὐμὸς πατήρ  
 ἀγωνίαν τε, τὸ πάθος ἂν ἐνστυγὴ μόνον  
 ὁ τ' ἱατρὸς ἡμῖν πιθανότατα σχῇ τινα.

## XOPOY.

Chaereas, the speaker in the first lines, is going to pretend that he is dead. N., his nephew, whose name is not preserved, is in the plot. Here again there is no direct reference to the chorus.

Such is the evidence of Menander himself: five passages, only two of which contain any obvious hint as to the character of the chorus. In both of these two it takes the form of a *κῶμος*, a band of drunken revellers who fill in the intervals of the action with song and dance.

Now it has been pointed out by Leo and Körte<sup>4</sup> that such a *κῶμος* is after all only a reversion to the primitive. Comedy started as crude banter and dancing in honour of the wine-god; and in its latter days it preserves something more than a purely formal connection with its past. But Leo and Körte go further; they urge besides that the Menandrian chorus has a part, of varying importance, to play in the action itself. This is an extremely suggestive theory, if true; and it demands consideration. Leo's argument is that the *μειράκια πάμπολλα* of the *Periceironenê* may not be making a purely accidental appearance at all.<sup>5</sup> They may be coming to protect Glycera while she is being transferred from Polemon's house to Pataecus'. Against this Körte very rightly points out that drunken men do not prove good protectors, and that in any case a guard was hardly necessary, as the two houses were next door to one another;<sup>6</sup> but he only criticizes Leo to make room for a more sweeping hypothesis of the same type. Körte concludes from a remark of the slave, Sosias,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Samia*, 271.

<sup>2</sup> The *Fragmenta Florentina*, assigned to Menander with certainty by Vitelli in 1913 (*Pap. gr. e lat.* II, 1913, p. 27), and later identified as a portion of the *Epiclesus* by Herzog (cp. *Hermes*, 1916, p. 315 ff.). For a more recent discussion see Jensen, *Menandri Reliquiae*, and also Van

Leeuwen, *Men. Rel.* Körte argues against its assignation to the *Epiclesus* in his *Menandros* (p. 15), but unconvincingly.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragm. Florent.* 38-45 *ap.* Jensen and Van Leeuwen.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermes*, 1908.

<sup>6</sup> *Hermes*, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> *Hermes*, 1908.

<sup>7</sup> *Periceir.* 54-6.

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<sup>1</sup> *Epith*

<sup>2</sup> *Epith*

<sup>3</sup> *Cairo*

<sup>4</sup> *Samia*

that the chorus are Polemon's boon-companions who have drunk with him all day at his country house, and are now on their way to his town house to renew activities there. They sing their song as chorus and pass indoors, to be followed shortly by Polemon himself. Then they reappear as Sosias' army in the next act. Similarly with the *Epitrepontes*. In the St. Petersburg fragment we have revellers once more;<sup>1</sup> but at the close of the second act,<sup>2</sup> instead of a direct reference to them, Onesimus says that his master is about to start banqueting. For Körte this means that the chorus which comes on just after Onesimus' remark represents the guests on their way to the feast. And that is not all. The next act opens with a short monologue by Onesimus at the end of which Abrotonon, the courtesan, rushes out of the house in mortification. One or two of the guests (Körte's chorus) try to detain her; but she shakes them off, and comes on the stage with the remark:<sup>3</sup>

ἐμαντήν, ὡς εἰκεν, ἀθλία  
λέληθα χλενάζουσ'· ἐρᾶσθαι μὲν ἰδόκουν,  
θεῖον δὲ μισεῖ μῦθος ἀνθρώπος μέ τι.

According to Körte this can only mean that Abrotonon has just sung a love-song, which now proves to have been a mere mockery; and the only possible place for such a song was the interval between the last act and this one. Therefore, he concludes, the guests trooped on, headed by Abrotonon, and after she (and presumably they) had sung, passed into the house for the banquet.

So much for the *Epitrepontes*. In the *Samia* the dialogue which takes place immediately before the chorus' entry is concerned with the approaching wedding-feast;<sup>4</sup> and later in the next act Parmenon informs Moschion that the guests have all been waiting for a long time.<sup>5</sup> Here again, then, the chorus have a rational connection with the plot. They come on as wedding-guests, sing a suitable song, and then go indoors to take part in the feast.

I may say at once that I think that Körte goes a good deal too far; but at the same time much of the criticism directed against him fails to take account of the fact that he has spoken a half-truth, and because of that passes to the other extreme of misinterpretation.<sup>6</sup> I will state my own objections first.

There is, to begin with, no internal evidence whatsoever for the assumption that the κῶμος of the *Periceivomenē* is composed of the boon-companions of Polemon. The reference to it is exactly like the reference to the κῶμος at the close of the first act of the *Epitrepontes*, which, as far as I am aware, no one has yet tried to account for as the friends of anybody in particular; and it is hard to believe that Menander would have left its identity in any doubt, had he wished it to represent a definite group of persons associated, however remotely, with the action. Secondly, I must disagree with the further identification of this chorus as such with the 'army' which appears later. It is enough merely to point out that the 'guests' disappear into the house: whereas the 'army' follows Sosias from the country, as the text clearly shows.<sup>7</sup> If we are to credit Menander with that attention to the chorus which Körte would wish, we must also suppose him to have had sufficient experience in dramaturgy to avoid an error so elementary. And my final objection is with regard to the Abrotonon incident. Why suppose her to have led the chorus in a *Lied von unglücklicher Liebe*? Körte himself admits that it is quite unheard of for an actor to refer to a part of the performance which does not appear in the published version, but he can see no alternative explanation. As a matter of fact, the text makes the real meaning of her

<sup>1</sup> *Epitrep.* 32. Vide supra.

<sup>2</sup> *Epitrep.* 195 ff. Vide supra.

<sup>3</sup> *Cairo Fragm.* 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Samia*, 269.

<sup>5</sup> *Samia*, 331: σὲ γὰρ τοι περιμένουσ' οὔτοι πάλοι.

<sup>6</sup> I am thinking especially of Bethe, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Periceivomenē*, 234.

remark quite plain:<sup>1</sup> Abrotonon is complaining of the neglect with which Charisius is treating her.

So much for the details in which I think that Körte goes further than the evidence and probabilities warrant. Now let us turn back to the plays themselves for a moment. It is clear that the fragments connected with the chorus fall into two classes: first there are the passages which contain a direct reference to an approaching *κῶμος*; and secondly the passages which make no explicit mention of a *κῶμος* at all. To the first class belong the XOPOY of the St. Petersburg fragment of the *Epitrepontes* and the XOPOY of the *Periceivomenē*, as well as a fragment of Alexis' *Kouplis* which, as Leo has shown, certainly refers to a chorus of the *κῶμος* type.<sup>2</sup> To the second belong the second XOPOY of the *Epitrepontes*, the chorus in the *Samia*, and the chorus in the ? *Epiclerus*.<sup>3</sup> Now I cannot help thinking that the choruses of this second type did in some cases have a remote relation to the action proper. In the *Epitrepontes* Onesimus says plainly that the guests *συνάγονται*; and that can only mean that they are assembling at the moment.<sup>4</sup> Presumably they had to arrive from somewhere outside the house itself: and Menander must have represented them as arriving. It would have been impossibly clumsy to speak of guests as gathering for a feast at the end of one act, and then to treat them as making merry indoors at the beginning of the next,<sup>5</sup> when nobody had gone into the house except Onesimus himself. The guests must have been represented by the chorus.

Whether the same is true of the *Samia* is more doubtful. The chorus appears just when the wedding-feast is ready, and later on Parmenon says that the wedding-guests are indoors waiting to begin. It is difficult to see how they got there, unless the chorus represented them, and entered the house after its song and dance; but on the other hand, Demeas and Niceratus make no reference to the approach of guests before leaving the stage at the end of the act. Similarly no certain conclusion can be drawn from the *Epiclerus*: although from the surviving context I think it very probable that the chorus had no connection whatever with the action.

There remains one interesting piece of evidence from Terence's *Heauton*. Flickinger has called attention to a curious incident in Act I, Scene 1.<sup>6</sup> Chremes, who is alone on the stage, suddenly leaves it to visit a friend called Phantias (who never reappears in the play). The passage runs:

CHR. *Lacrimas excussit mihi,  
Miseretque me eius. Sed ut diei tempus est,  
Tempus monere me hunc vicinum Phantiam*

<sup>1</sup> *Epitrep.* 217 ff. (cp. Bethe, *op. cit.* for criticism on the same lines):

θεῖον δὲ μοῖσέ μῖσος ἀνθρώπος μέ τι.  
οὐκέτι μ' ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατακείσθαι, τύλαν,  
παρ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, 1908, p. 308. Kock, 107. The fragment runs:

καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ κῶμον . . . ἀνθρώπων ὄρω  
πλήθος προσόν, ὡς τῶν καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν  
ἐνθάδε συνόντων· μὴ γένοιτό μοι μόνῃ  
νύκτωρ ἀπαντῆσαι καλῶς πεπραγόσιν  
ὑμῖν περὶ τὸν βαλλισμὸν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε  
βοῤῥάτιον ἀπενέγκαιμι μὴ φύσας πτέρα.

Leo also finds a *κῶμος* buried in the *Bacchides* of Plautus, 104 ff. (*Hermes*, 1911):

BACCHIS I. *Aqua calet: eamus hinc intro ut laves.  
Nam uti navi vecta es, credo timida es.*

BACCHIS II.

*Aliquantum, soror.*

*Simul huic nescio cui, turbare qui huc  
it, decedamus.*

BACCHIS I. *Sequere hac igitur me intro in lectum ut  
sedes lassitudinem.*

<sup>3</sup> The XOPOT of the Ghorân Papyri should perhaps be mentioned. But the contexts in which it occurs (Demianczuk, *Suppl. Comicum*, pp. 100, 109) are too fragmentary to allow of any estimation of its significance.

<sup>4</sup> Bethe, *op. cit.*, wishes to interpret it as 'are already feasting,' as I mentioned above. He supports this by the fact that Charisius is drunk a hundred lines later; but that proves nothing at all. The interval between the beginning of the act and l. 306 gives Charisius ample time for that.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. 213.

<sup>6</sup> *Class. Phil.*, 1912. Cp. *supr.* p. 15, note 6.



*Ad cenam ut veniat; ibo, visam si domist.—*  
*Nihil opus fuit monitore: iam dudum domi*  
*Praesto apud me aiunt. Egomet convivas moror.*  
*Ibo adeo hinc intro. Sed quid crepuerunt fores?*

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Flickinger's conclusion seems to me irresistible. In the original ΧΟΡΟΙ followed line 170: and 171 began another act. Such is the only satisfactory explanation of the gratuitous visit to the neighbour's house; it could have easily been avoided in writing the scene, and, as it stands, it leaves the stage entirely empty for a while. On the other hand, if we suppose that a chorus appeared during the interval and then passed on into Chremes' house as *convivae*, all runs smoothly. The *Heauton* seems to provide a close parallel to the chorus composed of Charisius' guests in the *Epitrepontes*.

An examination of Menander's fragments shows, then, that the chorus took one of two forms. In some cases it was simply a κῶμος, a roving band of revellers whose approach brought an act to its close: while in others it represented a group of guests on their way to festivities connected with the plot. In both kinds of chorus, it is to be noticed, the κῶμος character was maintained. Except for the fact that the one type passed on down the street after their interlude, while the other went indoors to continue the merrymaking, they were identical. And it is essential to bear this in mind in estimating how far Bethe's criticisms of Robert and Körte apply here also.<sup>1</sup> Robert proposes a different chorus for each *entr'acte*;<sup>2</sup> thus it appears at the end of the first act of the *Periceironenê* as the friends of Polemon, at the end of the second as soldiers, at the end of the third as drunken revellers, and at the end of the fourth as peasants; while Körte, as we have seen, wishes the chorus of the same play to represent both the friends of Polemon and Sosias' army. Bethe bases his objections on the fact that no tragic or comic chorus changes its identity, and on the further fact that extra parts, like that of the army, would be played by κωφὰ πρόσωπα instead of by the chorus.

Both objections are reasonable. κωφὰ πρόσωπα were common in fifth-century tragedy and comedy: and there is no reason to think that Sosias' army, the *Satellites* of Pyrgopolynices,<sup>3</sup> the *Lorarii* and *Meretrices* of the *Pseudolus*,<sup>4</sup> and Thraso's followers in the *Eunuchus*<sup>5</sup> were anything else. If the author had intended them to be played by the chorus as such, he would have made that fact clear to the spectators. Secondly, it is difficult to regard the Menandrian chorus as a kind of dramatic chameleon which changed its dress and character from one *entr'acte* to another. There is no evidence which would lead us to suppose that New Comedy was prepared to spend so much time or money upon it. At the same time, true as these observations are, I do not feel that they affect what has been argued above as to the oscillation of the chorus between pure κῶμος and κῶμος as guests at some celebration connected with the plot. That oscillation does not involve a real change of character at all; and it was because no difference of costume or song was necessary that Menander availed himself of the opportunity of linking the chorus to the action when the common situation of a banquet off stage made it desirable. It must be remembered that the situation of the chorus in New Comedy was bound to be peculiar. Throughout the fifth century, and presumably through most of the fourth, the chorus had been assigned a more or less significant character at the beginning of a comedy, and its continued presence during the progress of the play made any change in that character impossible. But when a purely episodic comedy became popular, the chorus made its appearance only at fixed points in the development of the plot, and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cp. Menandri sex fabularum vell.*, Halle, 1908.  
 Also *Hermes*, 1909, pp. 260, 633.

<sup>3</sup> *Miles*, 77, 1399.

<sup>4</sup> *Pseudolus*, Act I, Sc. II.

<sup>5</sup> 780 ff.

the attitude of the dramatist towards it was revolutionized. I cannot think it surprising that during this period of readjustment the possibility of an occasional use of the chorus as part of the background of a play without any real inconsistency should be recognized, and that when the *kōmos* convention finally emerged there should emerge also the convention that the *unpersönlicher, typischer kōmos* of passers-by might with no accretion of personality become an equally *typischer kōmos*<sup>1</sup> of guests about to enjoy the hospitality of one of the actors.

The forces which determined the relation of the *kōmos* to New Comedy are perhaps to be seen at work in a fragment of Mnesimachus:<sup>2</sup>

βαῖν' ἐκ θαλάμων κυπαρισσορόφων  
 ἔξω, Μάνη· στείχ' εἰς ἀγόραν  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς,  
 οὗ προσφοιτῶσ' οἱ φύλαρχοι,  
 τοὺς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὠραίους . . .  
 τοῦτοις τοῖνυν ἄγγελ' ὅτι  
 ψυχρὸν τοῦψον, τὸ ποτὸν θερμόν κτλ.

The rest of the sixty-five lines preserved are filled with that wild luxuriance or culinary detail which so fascinated the fourth-century Greek mind, and are only of importance in so far as they suggest a possible origin for the cooks and banquets of New Comedy. But in the above we have a *kōmos* in embryo. The master sends the slave to the Agora to summon the guests to a feast: and they would presumably return with him in much the same way as the chorus comes on behind Carion in the *Plutus*. They are not yet a *kōmos* pure and simple; but they are on the way to becoming one. They are not 'mere' guests, inserted to complete the fiction of an off-stage banquet: they have a definite identity, and at least a nominal connection with the title of the play, *Ἰπποτρόφος*. Suidas assigns Mnesimachus to Middle Comedy; and such internal evidence as there is confirms him. The fragment from the *Philippus*, describing Macedonian fire-eaters, must be dated either to Philip's lifetime or to the years immediately following his death: while the tone of the *Ἰπποτρόφος* itself is essentially that of Middle Comedy. Very possibly Mnesimachus went on producing plays throughout the last half of the fourth century, and like Alexis represented both Middle Comedy and New. If we assume, as I think we must, that the *Ἰπποτρόφος* was performed before New Comedy had become entirely predominant, the sixty-five lines preserved are a valuable survival from a poorly documented period.

I remarked earlier that Körte's theory of the Menandrian chorus was substantially truer than the criticisms passed upon it would lead one to expect; and I hope that I have done something to show that this is so. But even in his identification of the chorus of the *Periceironenê*, as such, with the army of Sosias he does not go far wrong. It is extremely probable that the *Chorentae* did form the army, although not *qua* chorus. Bethe himself points out that the emergence of touring companies of Dionysiac *τεχνῖται* undoubtedly had the effect of reducing the numbers of the chorus,<sup>3</sup> and it seems to me only natural that this tendency towards making professional players as compact a body as possible should have resulted in the use of the members of the chorus as *κωφὰ πρόσωπα* whenever the need arose. Both Körte and Bethe fail, I think, to realize this possibility, so that much of their argument is beside the point.

The mention of *τεχνῖται* brings us back to the question of the organization and financing of comedy in the fourth century. We saw earlier that the *Synchoregia* was

<sup>1</sup> The phrases are Bethe's.

<sup>2</sup> Kock, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Bethe, *Prolegomena*, p. 248.

apparently abolished shortly before 390. From that date down to c. 325 evidence of changes in the outlay of *Choregi* and the numbers of the chorus is almost entirely lacking. Isocrates and Antiphanes both refer to a *Choregus* who dressed his *Choreutae* in gold;<sup>1</sup> but whether the chorus in question was tragic or comic is unknown. Demosthenes, as we have seen, implies that the old system of single *Choregi* was working once more in 355.<sup>2</sup> But beyond that there is nothing until the inscription of 329 and the 'Αθ. Πολ.; and even then we only learn that five single *Choregi* were being appointed yearly for the five comedies performed at the Dionysia.<sup>3</sup> In 307, however, a fresh choregic system is in operation. The city, instead of the individual, supplies the necessary monies, and a new official, the *Agonothetes*, is appointed to direct expenditure.<sup>4</sup> This may have roughly coincided with a reduction in the size of the chorus. We have seen that its numbers dropped from twenty-four to perhaps fifteen in the first half of the fourth century; and epigraphic evidence shows that at Delphi in the year 268 a comic chorus was composed of only seven members: while about a century later the seven have shrunk to four.<sup>5</sup> There is no proof that a similar decrease in size took place at Athens: but it is extremely probable. Fifteen was too large a number for the requirements of a purely episodic New Comedy, just as it was for the capabilities of a touring company. And if such a change took place, we should expect it to set in before the end of the fourth century.

Beyond Menander we cannot trace the history of the comic chorus. Plautus and Terence discarded it; and although slight scars upon their work sometimes indicate what may have been a chorus in the Greek original, they prove little more than that development in the third century moved in the same direction as it had at the end of the fourth. Leo finds traces of a κῶμος in the *Bacchides*: while the *Piscatores* of the *Rudens* and the *Advocati* of the *Poenulus* look very like the fossilized remains of third-century choruses in the *Plutus-Trophonius* tradition.<sup>6</sup> The *Trophonius*, it will be remembered, was not a purely domestic five-act comedy; it reverted, or so the fragments suggest, to the wider theme of faith-healing, quackery, and the absurdities of accepted legend; and its chorus was more of a serious dramatic element than the formalized κῶμος. If the *Rudens* and *Poenulus* in their original form had choruses of the *Trophonius* type, we should have an extension into the third century of that bifurcation which started in the last quarter of the fourth, although homogeneity of plot must have made the difference between, say, the *Rudens* and a comedy with a κῶμος-chorus far less noticeable than their general similarity.

Whether the chorus entirely vanished in the second and first centuries, it is impossible to say. An inscription from Epidauros,<sup>7</sup> dated by its lettering to Roman times, at least shows that original comedy continued to be written, and presumably performed, long after Greece had ceased to be an independent nation. But for purposes of detailed investigation the *alte terminus haerens* is set at the death of Menander.

<sup>1</sup> Isocrates, *Areopagiticus*, 53: Antiphanes, *Soldier*, Kock, 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Leptines*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 56, I.G. II. Suppl. 971.

<sup>4</sup> I.G. II. 1289, which runs as follows:

ὁ δῆμος ἐχορήγει ἐπ' Ἀναξικράτους ἀρχοντος  
ἀγωνοθέτης Ξενοκλῆς Ξενίδος Σφήττιος·  
ποιητῆς τραγωδίας Φανόστρατος Ἡρακλείδου Ἀλικαρ-  
νάσσευς·  
ὑποκριτῆς τραγωδίας . . . ὦν Εὐανορίδου Κυδαθη-  
ναίευσ·  
ποιητῆς κωμωδίας Φιλῆμων Δάμωνος Διομεύς·  
ὑποκριτῆς κωμωδίας Κάλλιππος Καλλίου Σου-  
ριεύς.

See also Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 55 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge* II. 424. 42 ff. and II. 690. See the comments of Pomtow on both inscriptions *ad loc.* and cp. I.G. XI. II. 108 and 161. A. 83.

<sup>6</sup> It is very unsafe to draw parallels between plays of the New Comedy and the *Ecclesiazusae* of Aristophanes on the grounds of similarity of title. Thus we have among Menander's fragments a *Κωμειαζόμεναι*, *Πωλούμενοι*, *Συναριστώσαι*, *Κυβέρνηται*. But they may have resembled Plautus' *Captivi*, and have given no prominence to the chorus at all.

<sup>7</sup> *Εφημ.* 'Αρχ. 1883, 162.3.

Even a cursory survey of the evidence set out in the above pages makes it clear that generalization as to the position of the chorus at any given stage in the history of comedy after Aristophanes is likely to be more misleading than constructive. The great gulf between the *Plutus* and the *Heauton* has swallowed up much that would explain the genesis of the κῶμος and its gradual supersession of a chorus which still possessed dramatic vitality; and fortuitous survivals inevitably distort interpretation even where they make it possible. Two facts, however, do emerge. The first is that the chorus was deeply enough embedded in Greek dramatic tradition to survive all the changes of structure and tone which occurred in the drama of the fourth century, though at the price of losing much of the ornament which had effectively disguised its Dionysiac origins at the end of the fifth; the comic chorus, that is to say, begins as κῶμος and ends as κῶμος. And secondly, although the chorus gradually lost its central position owing to changes in contemporary thought and contemporary taste, the reaction of which upon comedy was immediate, the readjustments which occurred were so many stages in a natural evolution rather than a consequence of economic or official pressure. There was little or no artificial canalization of comedy's activities: and the change from chorus as actor to chorus as κῶμος was a piecemeal and unhurried change. The seeds were present when Aristophanes wrote the *Plutus* and *Cocalus*; yet the new had not entirely ousted the old even in the succeeding century.

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K. J. MAIDMENT.



## AESCHYLUS *AGAMEMNON* 1223-38 AND TREACHEROUS MONSTERS.

IN *C.Q.* XXVI. 45-51 I contended that in Aesch. *Agam.* 1227-30 Cassandra describes Clytemnestra in terms of a Greek proverb, the proverb of the Treacherous Hound; and I restored the passage thus:—

νεῶν δ' ἑπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης  
οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσα μισήτης κυνὸς  
λείψασα καὶ σήνασα φαῖδρ', οἷον δάκος  
Ατῆς λαθρυίου δίηξεται κακῇ τέχνῃ.

My purpose now is, first, to consider the two criticisms of my original article which have since appeared in this journal, and then to shed further light not only upon these four lines but upon their immediate context.

*Rejoinder to Mr J. C. Lawson:*—In *C.Q.* XXVII. 112-4 Mr Lawson, while admitting the existence of the proverb in the numerous passages of Greek literature which I had quoted in illustration, gives it as his considered opinion that there is no such reference here. The consequences of this opinion seem to me so improbable that I feel driven to tabulate some facts which I had omitted as self-evident; for it did not occur to me that anyone would question the very assumption<sup>1</sup> upon which my restoration was based.

(i) The governing context, 1223-38, simply consists of comparisons of the two conspirators to treacherous or proverbially treacherous monsters.

(ii) In 1223 Aegisthus is compared to a lion who plots (*βουλεύειν*) vengeance under the guise of an *οἰκουρός*. [1226 I regard as spurious; see below; this does not affect the issue, since the line is obviously a digression.]

(iii) In 1227-30 Clytemnestra is compared to a hound who . . . [then comes the passage in dispute].

(iv) In 1233 Clytemnestra is compared to an *amphisbaena* and in 1233-6 to the *Scylla*, both notorious in antiquity for their treacherous and dual nature (see commentary below). 1236-8 exclaims at the duplicity of Clytemnestra's jubilation.

Between (that is to say) the treacherous lion upon the one side, and the treacherous *amphisbaena* and *Scylla* upon the other, comes our metaphor of the hound. Such a hound might be at least suspected of treachery simply from the company in which we find her, were there no proverb of the Treacherous Hound. But as even Lawson admits, there is, and the hound is in fact far more notorious in ancient literature for treachery, evil contriving, insidious scheming, than any other of those four formidable figures.

(v) The treachery of Clytemnestra's act in murdering her husband is emphasised in the *Agamemnon* from first to last, from *δολία* 155 to *δολῶσαι* 1636; cf. *δολοφόνου* 1129, *δολίφ μόρφ* 1495, 1519. Moreover, she is treacherous as home-keeper, *οἰκονόμος* *δολία* 155, and it is, patently and admittedly, this that is glanced at in 788-809, which concludes with *τὸν ἀκαίρως πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν*. Well, here the reference is to Clytemnestra; and it is to her conspiracy with the 'plotting *οἰκουρός*' (same

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation did not originate with Headlam but with Blomfield, who collected most of the illustrations. The label 'Treacherous Hound' comes from Verrall, *J. Phil.* X. (1882) 299.

pair of terms recurs at 1626 f.); and she is compared to a hound; and the word λαθραῖος is already in this passage; and there was a proverb of the surreptitious (λαθραῖως δάκνων) hound. (And Madvig, in reading δήζεται after λαθραῖον, accidentally restored the very phrase of the proverb, while he betrays no knowledge of its λαθροδέκτης or of any other evidence assembled in my paragraph *l.c.* p. 49.)

All things considered, I submit that the hound of our passage is present in her best authenticated aspect as a figure of treachery, as one who first fawns upon her unsuspecting (οὐκ οἶδεν) victim and then suddenly bites.

*Rejoinder to Mr G. Thomson*:—Mr Thomson in *C.Q.* XXVIII. 75 f. 'feels sure' that I 'am right in maintaining' this general interpretation, but restores the passage very differently. Since he introduces his δάκει for δίκην with acknowledgments to my δάκος, I ought to say at once that (as I have since discovered) the word had been previously conjectured here by Kock<sup>1</sup> in the form δάκη.

It will be convenient to start from a small slip made by Thomson; what I read was not μισητός but (following Paley) μισήτης. I did not, indeed, like 'lecherous' as applied by Cassandra to Clytemnestra, nor find it thus particularly in Aeschylean taste. But after 'what sort of tongue' I felt that any epithet so colourless as 'detestable' attached to κυνός was unexpected and apparently functionless, and I here took reluctant refuge in the traditional distinction referred to by Paley, largely because the alternative presented by μισήτης seemed one which we were not in a position to impugn.<sup>2</sup>

That μισητός, on the other hand, was itself un-tragic or even un-Aeschylean, I can hardly regard Thomson as having shown; for to say nothing of μίσος thrice, Aeschylus twice uses μίσημα. But I still feel the objection above mentioned; and indeed, if someone were to maintain that any descriptive epithet is unnatural here, as also that 'what sort of tongue of dog' is strange enough without it, I should not protest. By contrast, Thomson's ἡ στυγνή, 'that hateful hound' allusively, is entirely natural. Moreover, his array of examples of the gloss στυγνὴν· μισεῖν and so forth, including his views (which convince me) of *Eur. Tro.* 898 and *fr.* 362, 10, is itself impressive. And the passage cries aloud for a nominative to replace κυνός; how long I spent in trying to get it I cannot remember; Thomson has succeeded. He writes<sup>3</sup>

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσαν ἡ στυγνὴ κύων  
δείξασα καὶ κλίναςα φαιδρὸν οὓς δάκει  
ἄτης λαθραῖου σὺν κακῇ τεύξει τέχνην.

I readily admit that from γλώσσαν to οὓς inclusive I find this reconstruction far more cogent than mine and this reading incomparably more satisfying. I accept it with delight; γλώσσαν δείξασα, so terse and significant, seems to me right Aeschylus; and Ahrens's neat adjustment is certainly now admissible,<sup>4</sup> while to Thomson's references here may be added *Soph. Fr.* 687 and the Hesychian gloss on that.

But if so much of Thomson's restoration is in the style of Aeschylus, then the rest of it is not; for that is as loose and weak as this is compact and strong. The unsuspecting Agamemnon has no idea 'what she will do, or effect' ('bring to

<sup>1</sup> Kock had also anticipated me in the series (wrongly claimed by me, p. 47) λείξασα, σήνασα, δήζεται. For this knowledge I am indebted to Wecklein's Addenda; I have not yet found K.'s n.

<sup>2</sup> This use might or might not be low, and might be as old as Archilochus, see Bergk on *fr.* 185.

<sup>3</sup> But renders unhappily; 'loathsome bitch'—both terms give quite wrong suggestions; 'laid

back a joyful ear'—English cannot support so literal a translation of the hypallage.

<sup>4</sup> I withdraw my objection to κλίναςα φαιδρὸν οὓς, not so much for T.'s reason, as because in *Plato Rep.* 613c (cited by T.) the phrase τὰ ἄντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔχοντες, applied as it there is to human beings, includes the head with the ear, cf. Photius *ap.* Adam. I take it that during 914-929 Clyt. would have 'inclined her ear' in ironical deference.

pass'—T.), by her bite of lurking Até with (or through) her wicked cunning.' The sense of οἷα τεύξει I still find 'impossibly feeble' (p. 47) in itself; and 'what she will effect with her bite' is two terms for one act, and is further watered by σὺν κακῇ τέχνῃ. The proverb was σαίνονσα δάκνεις; our double participial phrase amounts to σήνασα; to me it still seems overwhelmingly probable that the main verb which supplied the antithesis to those two participles gave that also in terms of the metaphor, and not as an un-canine and indeed I could almost say irrelevant τεύξει. For my δάκος I would now simply substitute Kock's (nearer) δάκη and continue as I did before. The only new reading in my first restoration was 'what a bite'; but this hound took three bites, 1384-6. The hyperbaton οἷα . . . δάκη I take to have been deliberate; such enclosure of the participial phrases best emphasises the antithesis; and indeed, these words once granted, no other order would be so satisfactory in its 'interlacings' and juxtapositions. For δάκη ἄτης λαθραίου compare γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου 361.<sup>1</sup>

For the convenience of readers I always use the numeration of the Oxford text (etc.); but Mr Thomson, who uses another, has misunderstood my n. 3 on p. 47 and unfortunately states that I regard the line νεῶν . . . ἀναστάτης as an interpolation. Far from it; and this brings me to my examination of the entire context. I start from Sidgwick, righting only the three lines above discussed.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποινὰς φημι βουλευεῖν τινὰ λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφόμενον οἰκουρόν, οἴμοι, τῷ μολόντι δεσπότη	1225
ἔμψ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν· νεῶν δ' ἔπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσαν ἢ στυγνὴ κύων δείξασα, καὶ κλίναςα φαιδρὸν οὖς, δάκη ἄτης λαθραίου δήξεται κακῇ τέχνῃ.	1230
τοιᾷδε τόλμῃ θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς ἔστιν. τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος τύχοιμ' ἂν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην, θύονσαν Ἀίδου μητέρ' ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη φίλοις πνέουσιν; ὥς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο ἢ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃς τροπῇ. δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.	1235

Structure—See above.

1226. ἔμψ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν.

First, it will be safest to discuss this line by itself. It was bracketed by A. Ludwig; so also Herwerden. I denounced it years ago (*Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* cvi-cviii, p. 6), but can now strengthen that case. The line is (i) unnecessary, (ii) vapid, (iii) intrusive, as I shall presently show, to the *subject-matter* of this context. But it is also intrusive, perhaps even more seriously, from a broader aspect. It is fatuously inappropriate on the lips of one whose rôle it is to forecast her immediate murder; and Cassandra since 1183 is employing no equivocation. Her allusion to her servile status at 1326 is in most pointed and effective foil<sup>2</sup> to 957, the pompous introit of her captor; and our present allusion would tend to weaken such a climax even if ours were not so markedly opposite in tone. Moreover, as Weil profoundly said on

<sup>1</sup> I follow those who omit 360, both words being very objectionable here.

<sup>2</sup> The purpose of 1330 is to emphasise this contrast and to show that the pathos of mortal destiny transcends even this. I follow Lawson

for sense, but I read κοῦ for καὶ instead of his οὐ; that is better Greek as well as gentler surgery; and cf. *Suppl.* 296, Eur. *I.T.* 901, *I.A.* 396, all certain. For my part I should add Soph. *Tr.* 1046.

1327-30, 'vaticinatur Cassandra, non philosophatur'; still less will she platitudinise; and in fact *she nowhere utters any generalisation at all*—for you can hardly so reckon 1303. Finally, although the order τῷ μολόντι δεσπότη ἐμῷ is in itself quite unexceptionable, cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1239, this and similar examples (Soph. *O.T.* 1462, Eur. *Or.* 1564, *I.A.* 1100) show that the meaning should then be 'my returned master'; but that is impossible here; and if any Greek poet really had found himself under the necessity of saying 'the returned master—mine, in fact,' it seems to me that he would then have written τῷμῳ, just as Demosthenes does where he has occasion for a somewhat similar emphasis, *de Cor.* 254-5 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως . . . τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τῇ ἐμῇ (and again just below).

The genesis of the line is obvious—an expanded gloss. For ἐμῳ as intrusive gloss in Aeschylus cf. *Pers.* 850, where the best remedy is παιδί που (Wilam.); for process<sup>1</sup> cf. 7.

Revert now to 1225. The οἶμοι of the MSS. has no force here; and the very word wanted, or rather needed, to signalise the irony in οἰκουρόν is the ('bitterly'<sup>2</sup>) ironic οἶμαι; cf. *P.V.* 968. Sophocles presents no instance of ironic οἶμαι, but Euripides has it in the same place *Hclid.* 511, 968. (οἶμαι was suggested by Paley, but half-heartedly and without justification; no one has adopted it, for Headlam, who did so in the Bohn, abandoned it, as also, if Wecklein is right, did Paley himself.)

μολόντι. With 1226 they could, and should, have rendered (but did not) 'as warden for the master *who has* (in point of fact, or now) *arrived*, mine—for one must bear the yoke of slavery'; and this, although unnatural in every way, would have been a correct reference to Agamemnon, so that the two lines together would have meant (if anything) 'warden for Agamemnon.' But now that 1226 has gone and the term τῷ δεσπότη is left purely relative to οἰκουρόν, μολόντι can only mean 'as warden for the returned master' and that is nonsense; we require of course 'warden for the absent master.'

Presumably the many translators, who even with 1226 gave 'the returning master' (Headlam, in Bohn) or its equivalent, could now give the same mis-translation;<sup>3</sup> and by rendering the aorist as a present and understanding that as a future, could claim sense for the tradition. I cannot do that; but (I hope) I never emend unless driven to it, and so here I begin by trying μολόντι as 'absent' and pretending to compare *Pers.* 1 Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων. Of course, it will never do; when the choice is between *come* and *go* μολεῖν means *come*, and this play swarms with the participle as denoting the return of Agamemnon or his army, 34, 345, 601, 606, 969, or of others, 1587, 1667. The original word, in my opinion, must, therefore, have been μογούντι. The verb means to be engaged on a heavy job (*Theogn.* 71), to toil *on others' behalf* (*Il.* IX. 492, *Od.* XVI. 19), and above all it denotes the toil of *warfare* (*Il.* I. 162, cf. II. 690; *Od.* IV. 106, XII. 190), and it has these last two senses together at *Il.* XXIII. 607, *Od.* IV. 152, 170. It therefore naturally involves the idea of absence from home, *Od.* II. 343 εἴ ποτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς οἴκαδε νοστήσει καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας; and what surely establishes it for our line in that sense is the poet's own language at *Cho.* 919-21, μὴ 'λεγγε τὸν πονοῦντ' ἔσω καθημένη and τρέφει δέ γ' ἀνδρὸς μόχθος ἡμένας ἔσω; for when Aegisthus is ironically called an οἰκουρός for Agamemnon it means that he is like a woman who stays at home while men fight, and all this is said in so many words at 1625-6.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also 806 εὐφρων πόνον εὖ τελέσασιν <ἐγώ> (πόνον Auratus for πόνος, ἐγώ Wilam.).

<sup>1</sup> I have not the least doubt, and hope soon to show, that *Sept.* 33 is another instance; and there is a detailed case behind Wecklein on *Sept.* 263.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson on Eur. *Hclid.* l.c.

<sup>3</sup> They can translate correctly when they like;

see them all emphasise the tense of μολόντος at 34.

<sup>4</sup> γύναι, σὺ . . . μένων κτλ. But (i) μένων cannot agree even with the most scornful γύναι—whose scorn it destroys; (ii) a woman cannot in this sense αἰσχύνειν εὐνὴν ἀνδρός. γύναι σὺ was the



Now look: οἰκουρόν, οἶμαι, τῷ μογοῦντι δεσπότη! οἶμαι ironic, as I said; but now more so and better so.

1227-30. In my previous article I showed that the original of this proverbial hound, who fawns upon incomers but by his deadly bite prevents their exit, is Cerberus, the pervert house-dog of the House of Hades. The true house-dog will fawn upon the hand that fed it but will bite intruders; Hom. *Od.* XIV. 29-38, XVI. 4-10, Theocr. XXV. 68-77.

The point of the allusion then is that Clytemnestra is an οἰκουρός κακή. She herself had in Cassandra's hearing ironically claimed to be a *good* house-dog; 606-8 γυναικα πιστήν δ' ἐν δόμοις εἶροι μολῶν | οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα | ἐσθλήν ἐκείνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δόσφροσι.

Now observe the continuity of 1223-5 and 1227-30. Aegisthus is a λέων οἰκουρός ('forsooth') for Agamemnon; and Agamemnon will soon discover, too, what sort of an οἰκουρός κύων he had left behind in his own wife. The connection, clear from the verbal content, is reinforced by the chiasmus (βουλεύειν—λέοντ'—Agamemnon: Agamemnon—κυνὸς—κακῇ τέχνῃ).

Clytemnestra as false οἰκουρός was a commonplace; Eur. *Hec.* 1277 ἡ τοῦδ' ἄλοχος, οἰκουρός πικρά (the context refers to the double murder); but what is more significantly reminiscent of our passage is Lyc. 1107, where Cassandra prophesies that Agamemnon shall experience λυπρὰν λαίανης . . . οἰκουρίαν.

Further, the παροιμία (as such) of the Treacherous Hound is explained as ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλεόντων by Schol. Ar. *Knights* 1031, and Eustathius *Od.* p. 1493, 32 says that it σημαίνει ἐπιβουλον ἀνθρωπον. Exactly; and so here it follows naturally on βουλεύειν 1223.

But there is still more; for here, as so often happens, the best commentator is the poet himself. The very first address of the Elders to their returned King is a warning<sup>1</sup> that while they themselves are frank but loyal, there is Somebody who is, on the contrary, 'seemingly well-disposed or welcoming' but—the rest he will discover for himself, no doubt, in time. They are alluding to Clytemnestra; on that much everyone is agreed, it is unmistakable. Well, the terms which they employ, the two salient terms, are σάινειν (798) and τὸν ἀκαίρως οἰκουροῦντα (809).

Similarly, the other half of the explanation given by Schol. Ar. *l.c.* of our proverb, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκρινόμενων δῆθεν εὖ νοεῖν, has its counterpart here also, τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὖ φρονος ἐκ διανοίας κτλ. 797 (and, in my opinion, also at 788, where I accept Weil's τὸ δοκεῖν εὖ νοεῖ for a variety of other reasons).

δῆξεται. The reason why this is supported by *Cho.* 995 is that δεδηγμένον there in any case unquestionably glances at the deadliness of Clytemnestra to Agamemnon. See further, below. (*Erratum*—δῆξεται I took, as I said, from *Madvig Adv. Crit.* I. 200-1, and it is commonly referred to as his, but it had previously been proposed by Burges.)

κακῇ τέχνῃ is the synonym for κακομηχανία. The Greek conception of the dog as an 'evil contriver' is as old as Homer, κυνὸς κακομηχάνου *Il.* VI. 344. To my examples of our παροιμία I should have added<sup>2</sup> a late but unmistakable attenuation (it has everything but the dog), Fronto p. 243 Naber (quoted by Headlam on 793)

metrical adjustment of σὺ γύναι, and what the poet wrote was σὺ, γύναι, . . . cf. Fr. 61. σὺ is more scornful as first word, and that it had that place is rendered probable by the corresponding taunt, 1617 σὺ κτλ.

<sup>1</sup> φρένωμα, 830, is my correction of φρόνημα; vid. 831-850, cf. 788-809. You cannot 'agree with' a φρόνημα. For the dramatic point see C.Q. XXVI, p. 46 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> And here is yet more. At *Cho.* 446-7 the unexplained ἐτοιμότερα γέλως after πολυσυνὸς κυνὸς has caused Tucker much conscientious thought; it is simply a passing reference for point's sake to the proverbial 'grin' of the dangerous dog. At *Cho.* 621 κυνόφρων refers not to Scylla's shamelessness merely but to her treachery. Eur. *Andr.* 630, προδότιν κύνα.

ὁ τοι γέλως, οὕτως τὸ πρὶν ἄδολος εἶναι πεφυκὸς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τῶν γελώντων ἐπιδεικνύειν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακομυχανίας καὶ ἐνέδρας ὡς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη κρύπτειν τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς προσγελώντων. And now I come to a point for which I would invite particular attention.

In 1242-55 the Elders discuss with the prophetess the speech which she has just delivered, how much of it they can understand and how much they cannot. Their perplexity resolves itself into this, that what completely baffles them is the *μηχανή*,<sup>1</sup> by means of which the alleged murderer is to effect his purpose. In no text except those few which here read *τέχνη*—that is to say, not in Weil, Wecklein (*Orestie*), Wilamowitz, Mazon, and least of all in Lawson—will there be found in 1217-38 anything corresponding to this allusion.

*τέχνη*. This word is applied to the device of Clytemnestra by Philostratus *Imag.* II. 10, ἡ Κλ. δὲ πέπλου τέχνη τινὸς ἀπείρου. That *μηχανή* 1253 has the same reference is clear from *μηχάνημα* in 1127 and in *Cho.* 981.

1231 'τοιῶδε τόλμη Karsten' (Sidg.; and in K. it is, but Martin was first, if Weckl. is right) for *τοιῶδε τολμᾶ*. For over twenty years I have found this passage curiously puzzling. H. L. Ahrens's *τοιῶδε τόλμα* is widely current (Weil, Weckl., Headlam, Wilam., etc.), but both of these resulting sentences are impossibly abrupt, and the former is really meaningless. In adopting the dative Sidgwick seems to me indubitably right. But, after repeated efforts, I do not find it conceivable that the poet used *τοιῶδε* here; the speaker has not in the smallest degree described the 'daring act,' she has only alluded to it briefly and within a metaphor. I feel confident that the original was *ποιᾷ δὲ τόλμῃ θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς | ἔσται; τί νιν καλοῦσα κτλ.* This has many advantages. It makes a much better connection with the following sentence (now a second and parallel question), and it alone makes a proper connection with the preceding. It provides a Greek locution, the sense being 'How could she dare such a thing?' cf. e.g. Soph. *Ai.* 46 (with Jebb's n.) *ποιᾷσι τόλμας κτλ.*, Plato *Rep.* 414D οὐκ οἶδα ὅποιά τόλμη . . . χρώμενος ἐρῷ, Aeschines *Ktes.* 121 *ποιᾷ φωνῇ* . . . τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι, and similarly in Aeschylus *ἐκ ποίου φρονήματος Suppl.* 911. For the indignant *ποιός* in Cassandra's part cf. 1087. Moreover in her trimeters, 1186-1278, the prophetess re-traverses her lyric outburst, 1072-1172, as she has undertaken to do, 1178-1185, and my 1231 corresponds to 1107-9. *θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς* was a marvel to fifth-century Athens, and this amazed question has a parallel in Eur. *Hec.* 883.

*ἔστιν* codd., but it would have to be enclitic, and at the beginning of the trimeter the enclitic cannot stand; hence *ἔσται* Elmsley, a correction from which there is no escaping. Editors do not play fair here. (Headlam, *On edit. A.* pp. 7-9, has no bearing on the present issue.) And Cassandra uses the prophetic present for future only in her lyrics; in her trimeters there are futures enough to establish this very natural distinction.

1233 *ἀμφίσβαιναν*. Ar. *Fr.* 441C (O.C.T. App.), Nic. *Ther.* 372 ff., Lucan IX. 719, Nonn. *D. V.* 145-50, etc., cf. below. This was a 'noxious' and 'two-headed' snake which could advance (as its name indicated) in either direction, and, being 'two-mouthed' (*δίστομος*, Nonn. *l.c.*), bite with either end. That is, it had, as we say, 'its sting in its tail'; see Aelian *N.H.* IX. 23; and for its application to Clytemnestra I would compare the words used of the 'traitress' wife Dalila by the Chorus in Milton *Sam. Ag.* 997 f. 'She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting, Discovered in the end, till now concealed.' If it be not as a symbol of dual nature,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν, 1253. And this is the line which editors emend; τοὺς γὰρ τελούντας (Heimsoeth) Sidgwick, Wecklein, Wilamowitz, others. ('The alteration is easy.')

γὰρ means 'for'; it gives a reason, does not repeat a statement; and where in Greek will you parallel ξυν. τοὺς τελ. 'I understand who the perpetrators are'? not from S. *Tr.* 868-70.

'double proceeding,' treachery in fact, I cannot imagine why the bare name of ἀμφίσβαινα should appear here at all.

Σκύλλαν . . . οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναντίλων βλάβην. From these terms it is a fair inference that the Scylla is adduced not merely as a man-devouring female monster, but as an insidious monster. The Homeric Scylla snatches her victims while all eyes are upon Charybdis, *Od.* XII. 244 f. And that our present monster at least is a monster of treachery is shown by the juxtaposition Ἄρη φίλοις.

A duplicate of Scylla, similar in habitat, habits, and appearance,<sup>1</sup> was Echidna; see Hesiod's description, *Theog.* 295-300. The two were paired in popular fancy; E. Harrison, *C.R.* XXXIX. 55, has shown that the correct reading (with one MS. authority) in Plutarch *Crassus* XXXII. 4, 5 is ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἐχιδναῖς καὶ Σκύλλαις. Both are, exactly as he says, a 'combination of formidableness and femininity,' but he cites no other places<sup>2</sup> where they are paired. They are both mentioned (among other monsters), and as emblems of that very combination, in Anaxil. 22; and both terms are applied, and in that same significance, by Aeschylus to Clytemnestra; ἔχιδνα at *Choeph.* 994 (cf. 249).<sup>3</sup>

Treachery, audacity—in a woman these things are one, for the Greek tragedians. If she is to commit a crime, she must, from her civic and social helplessness, effect it by stealth; if she deceives her maintaining menfolk, that in itself is the height of wickedness. This double idea patently pervades our passage; ἄτη λαθραῖος—τόλμα—Ἄρη φίλοις πνέονσα—ἡ παντότολμος. Observe that she is called παντότολμος in virtue of a particular piece of deception.

*Choeph.* 991-6<sup>4</sup> obviously is, and has long been reckoned, a general parallel to ours, and it will therefore be worth while to demonstrate that the very same twofold conception underlies the *animal imagery* of that also; the more so, as in the process I think that I can throw light upon this other passage. It is indeed no wonder that Clytemnestra should be compared to an ἔχιδνα, and above all by Orestes while standing over his mother's body immediately after her execution at his own hands. Herodotus 'knew' (ἡπιστάμενη III. 108, 1) that the female echidna in the moment of impregnation bites the male right through the neck and so makes an end of him; also that she τίσιν ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσειν, in that her young, τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρόντα, bite out their passage through her womb. Now this is no fiction of Herodotus, but a genuine popular belief; so much is shown by its reappearance in Aristotle *Mirab.* ch. 165 (p. 846), Nic. *Ther.* 128-36. (Edd. Hdt. do not seem to be interested in this.) And popular, with poets anyway, it has since remained; it is the subject of allusion in Shakespeare *Pericles* I. i. 64 f. ('I am no viper, yet I feed On mother's flesh which did me breed') and Dryden *Absalom and Achitophel* I. 1013-5. If Aeschylus is not here glancing at it, the coincidence is extraordinary; and I am even more surprised that How and Wells<sup>5</sup> on III. 109, 2 ἀποθνήσκει should write 'H.'s vivid imagination conceives the serpent pair as a sort of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra' without so much as hinting that Aeschylus himself had ever compared Clytemnestra to the

<sup>1</sup> The childish extravagance in the monstrosity of the six-headed and twelve-footed Homeric Scylla is exceptional. Regularly in literature as well as art (cf. O. Waser, *Shylla u. Charybdis in d. Lit. u. Kunst der Gr. u. Römer*, Zürich, 1894; later ref. in Lübker *Reallexikon*) she is a fish-tailed woman with a girdle of dogs' (or wolves') heads; and the conception of a cannibal mermaid is, as I shall presently argue, the Aeschylean. Echidna was 'a ravening snake-tailed woman. Each dwelt in a cave.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably from caution, but cf. next n.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that in Anaxil. 22.5 and (of course) in A. *Cho.* 994 edd. spell ἔχιδνα without a capital;

but to suggest that any rigid distinction was thus made in antiquity would be, I think, misleading. The Echidna (half woman, half ὄφις ὠμηστής) was simply an echidna *par excellence*. Her associates in E. *Ion* 1261-5, as in Anaxil. *l.c.*, show that the ἔχιδνα was conceived as something of a monster; and others besides Herodotus knew that she decapitated her mate.

<sup>4</sup> = Sidg. 996-1004; normally I refer to S.'s numeration, but here I cannot, since in the location of 997-1004 I follow Weil (so also Blass).

<sup>5</sup> To whom, however, I owe the ref. to Dryden.

ἐχιδνα, than I am that conversely at *Choeph.* 1002 the commentators never think of illustrating from Herodotus. The reason, however, may very well lie partly in their defective texts, particularly of 995 σήπειν θιγοῦσ' ἂν ἄλλον οὐ δεδηγμένον. It is useless for Blass to defend this absurd ἄλλον by saying that ἄλλος is Aeschylean for ἕτερος; if we had ἕτερον here it would interfere just as badly with the antithetic phrase σήπειν οὐ δεδηγμένον 'to poison the unbitten.' But the passage as a whole is marred by a subtler and more sense-destroying corruption than that. In 1001 φίλον τέως, νῦν δ' ἐχθρόν, ὥς φαίνει, κακόν these last three words are utterly inarticulate; what κακόν is doing here nobody knows; feeble in itself, it ruins the force of ἐχθρόν as antithetic to φίλον; and then the construction (and therefore sense) of φαίνει—it is impersonal—no, 'she' is the subject—no, 'he,' the τέκνον, is the subject; nobody knows. And so the literary critics say that unfortunately Aeschylus did tend to write like that; his style is sometimes 'harsh.'<sup>1</sup> The painters cannot reasonably hope to finish before the plumbers; but these must often go back a long way to fetch a tool or a mate. This flaw, as it happens, finds me with just the right equipment in my hands.

ἦ τις δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στίγος, 991  
 ἐξ οὗ τέκνων ἦγεγχε' ὑπὸ ζώνην βάρος,  
 φίλον τέως, νῦν δ' ἐχθρόν, ὥς φαίνει δακόν—  
 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραινά γ' εἴτ' ἐχιδν' ἔφνι,  
 σήπειν θιγοῦσ' ἂν ἄλλον οὐ δεδηγμένον, 995  
 τόλμης ἑκατὶ κάκδικον φρονήματος;

Her offspring, affectionate once, but now an enemy, as it demonstrates by (not *in*, which would be δάκνον) its bite. This is in unmistakable reference<sup>2</sup> (i) to 527-33, where Orestes learns that Clytemnestra has dreamed that she gave birth to a serpent and προσέσχε μαζόν (cf. 897) and that it bit her; (ii) to 928-30 (q.v.), where, only a few minutes ago, he has interpreted her dream to her in this very sense. I made the correction on the above diagnosis and this support only (without thought of the Herodotean passage) and they complete its case. But this correction once established, does not the general allusion to the physiology of the echidna, hitherto probable, become almost a certainty? I think it does; but I deduce from all his correctly preserved passages, which are numerous, that Aeschylus was a very clear writer, and I do not believe that he would have left such an allusion 'almost' a certainty, he would have made it at least unmistakable to those who knew the myth. He would have written the equivalent of ἄρσεν' in the place of our helpless ἄλλον; the equivalent, for this very common Aeschylean word will not account for our tradition. Unable myself to think of anything closer, I consult the critics; and sure enough, M's θίγουσαν ἄλλον is replaced in Weil's text by θιγοῦσ' ὄμανλον. It is not merely brilliant and beautiful; it is perfect; because the term is *not* applied to the cohabitation of animals, except once, and that is by Aeschylus and in this play, 598; and *there* with reference to πάντολμος (cf. *Agam.* 1237) ἔρως and women who, savage as the fiercest monsters of the brute creation, destroy their nearest and dearest, like Scylla (the *other* Scylla, who was also, for her part, κυνόφρων, 621). And no other editor has had a word to say for it.<sup>3</sup>

Weil's construction, however, will not do. The construction was explained by Dobree *Advers.* iv. p. 25 (Bohn), and Sidgwick and Tucker both improve upon that. 994-6 is undoubtedly a rhetorical question.<sup>4</sup> ἂν is indispensable; where can it come? only in one place, but that is the best, namely as second word; and anyhow in a

<sup>1</sup> But for a true estimate (and relevant here) see the second paragraph of Tucker's *Introd.* to *Choeph.*

<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the word implies 'deal an effective blow' as at *Sept.* 399.

<sup>3</sup> I also note that in relating this very act of the ἐχιδνα Nicander *Ther.* 131 says κάρην ἀπέκοψεν ὁ μέννων.

<sup>4</sup> Sidgwick well compares Plat. *Phaedr.* 234C.



retorical question by way of self-answer the γε seems to me entirely wrong. Read therefore *μύραιν' ἄν, εἴτ' ἐχιδν' ἔφν*. This last change has been anticipated (inevitably rather than scientifically) in three of Blaydes's ten pot-shots.

It is not true (as e.g. Blomfield's Latin translation of his *μᾶλλον* requires) that the echidna as such can putrefy by contact without biting. The *ἱερὸς ὄφις* (Ar. *Mirab.* ch. 151, p. 845) and basilisk (Lucan IX. 725) have such a power; but the echidna is always a biter, whether in, say, Nicander (*Theo.* 129, 673) or Aeschylus himself (*Suppl.* 896 f.). Why then say that Clytemnestra, had she been an echidna, would have done so? Because she is worse than an echidna; that was their phrase, *ἐχιδνης . . . περαιτέρω* Eur. *Andr.* 271.

We see then that the *ἐχιδνα* was a symbol of domestic treachery; and this very phrase was used by Jebb on the *ἐχιδνα λήθονσα* of Soph. *Ant.* 531. But at the same time she was a symbol of *τόλμα*; *τόλμης ἕκατι* here 996. And sure enough in Eur. *Ion* 1261 ff., the eighteen-line<sup>1</sup> speech of Ion, the *ἐχιδνα* is cited for *τόλμα*, with *ἐκ τέχνης* in reference to that same plot of Creusa.

That the term *μύραινα* also was associated with deceit and treachery appears from Com. *Aesop.* 595 ὃ προδότη καὶ παραγωγὴ καὶ μύραινα σὺ.

The animal imagery of the patent parallel Cho. 991-6 has now been shown to have the very same significance as all this animal imagery of *Agam.* 1228-38, namely *τόλμα* with *τέχνη*—treachery. And Burges's *τέχνη*, incidentally, derives further general support.

1235 "Αἰδον μητέρα. μητέρα is of course indefensible.<sup>2</sup> Clytemnestra is not lethal as mother but as wife. Headlam, as I pointed out in C.R. XLVI. 196, has not properly understood his own citations.

Ample analogy shows us clearly what general type of word to expect; it is some devastating creature; murderous persons are called 'fiendish' ("Αἰδον) *Bacchants* (Eur. *Hec.* 1077, H.F. 1119) or *butchers* (*Cycl.* 397) or *dragons* (*I.T.* 286). The "Αἰδον *δράκαινα* of this last passage is especially helpful; for while something like *δράκαινα* is here indicated by the oracularly monstrous context—*ἀμφίσβαινα*, *Σκύλλα*, to say nothing of *μύραινα* and *ἐχιδνα* in the parallel of the *Choeeph.*—the companion Fury at *I.T.* 288 is *φόνον πνέουσα* as our monster is "Αρη πνέουσα. A further cue is *θύουσαν* (*ὀρμῶσαν*, Triclinius). Now the creatures that *θύουσι* (or *θύνοσι*) are serpents (Nic. *Theo.* 128-9) and big fish (Hes. *Scut.* 210). Is ours a serpent or a fish? Well, it has already been called *ναυτίλων βλάβη*, therefore a fish is the more probable.

A fish it is. In a sense, indeed, it is both, because it is a kind of sea-serpent.

There is in Greek only one fish that 'blows' as well as rages, and that is the sea-monster of whom the look-out man still cries on sighting her 'She blows!' The spouter, *φνσητήρ*, or spoutress, *πρήστις* from *πρήθω*.<sup>3</sup> But here we must shed all modern nursery associations of the picturesque and playful ocean mammal, and be content to substitute the ancient superstition. Whales are rare in the Mediterranean and antiquity knew of them mostly by hearsay. The *πρήστις*, *πρίστις*, *pristis*, *pistris*, or *pistrix*<sup>4</sup> was conceived as long and narrow (Nonius xiii. 13, Pliny N.H. ix. 3 (2) Val. Flacc. ii. 530-1), feminine and a man-eater (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 506, Val. Fl. l.c.),

<sup>1</sup> Order of lines as in Prinz-Wecklein, i.e. 1261-5, 69-74, 79-81, 75-8; but 1266-8 I place after 1319.

"Αἰδον *μήτηρ* = *necis auctor*, presented by Lawson as a novelty, was exploded long ago by Karsten; but even if it were itself a possibility it would still be liable to three objections here: (i) you cannot well apply *μήτηρ* thus tropically to one who is actually a mother: (ii) 'source of death' would here be intolerably flat: (iii) a mother who rages and blows will belong to

Aristophanic parody, not to Aeschylus. Lawson naturally dares not translate his text; he has to throw in a 'witch' and a 'whirlwind'! But appropriate epithets do not create a substantive.

<sup>3</sup> I compare *πρήσσει γὰρ τὸ φνῆσαι* Schol. R, Ar. *Wasps* 36.

<sup>4</sup> See L. and S. (8) s.v. *πρίστις*; cf. Mair (trans. and n.) on Oppian *Hal.* I. 369 f. The 'saw-fish' is of course no less a reality than the 'blow-fish,' but the names evidently became confused. *pistis* = *pistrix* represents a further confusion.

formidable<sup>1</sup> in the extreme, *δυσανταγώνιστον θηρίον* Suidas s.vv. *κῆτος, πῆστις*; a portent ('horrible dictu'), she crawls upon the waves and is descried in the offing, Florus iii. 4. She *furit*, Val. Fl. ii. 480; cf. my *θύουσιν πῆστιν*. At Oppian *Hal.* I. 369 f. *δαφονῇ* | *πῆστις* Mair renders 'deadly,' and Mair never knew that I was going to find here also 'deadly prestis' *Ἄιδον πῆστιν. πρήθω* (Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*) is specifically to *blow up the surf*, particularly of a wind; similarly *πρημαίνω*. Ar. *Clouds* 336 has *πρημαιούσας τε θύελλας*, cf. my *θύουσιν πῆστιν*. Lyc. 27 has *πρηστήρος* . . . *πνοαῖς*, cf. (verbally) my *πῆστιν* . . . *πνέουσιν* (L., naturally, has numerous echoes of the *Agam.*). For *Ἄρης* of animals cf. 48, *Sept.* 53.

This emendation, once made, established a still stronger claim for itself here of a kind which I had never anticipated. I was in pursuit of a *third* monster to match the Scylla and amphisbaena; but of course *πῆστιν* is not that, and if Aeschylus had meant that he would have had to insert a second *ἢ*, or (e.g.) *μὲν οὖν*. If Clytemnestra is *Σκύλλα τις*, then she is *ipso facto* *πῆστις τις*. Virgil *Aen.* iii. 424-7:—

at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris,  
ora exsertantem et navis in saxa trahentem;  
prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore uirgo  
pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrinx.

Exactly; Clytemnestra welcomes as a woman, but at the last she biteth like a monster. The Scylla, I will say again, is *treacherous*.

I am far from positive that even Virgil's Aeschylus had *πῆστιν* here. A corrupt growth so complicated might well have its tap-root in the fifth century B.C. The ultimate source of both poets was possibly the same form of the legend. Aeschylus, who thrice visited Charybdis' island, presumably drew upon local tradition as well as on his Odyssey; and *πῆστις* first occurs in his Sicilian contemporary Epicharmus (59 Kaibel = 30 Ahr.). I will not take up space with a list of corrupted names of animals. *μητέρ'* might have been an emendation of *μητιν*, for the Aeschylean tradition has often dropped letters.

These ravening and sometimes infernal bugbears are all of a feather. I showed in my first article, p. 50, that the original of the pervert house-dog to whom Cassandra compares Clytemnestra is the Hesiodic Cerberus (add Soph. *Fr.* 687 with Pearson's note). In Hesiod (*Theog.* 310 f. cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1099) the mother of Κέρβερος ὠμηστής is the Ἐχιδνα ὠμηστής (*ibid.* 297, 300). The echidna's companion at *Cho.* 994 and also at Ar. *Frogs* 470-5 (where she appears in the further company of Κωκυτοῦ περιδρομοὶ κύνες) is *μύραινα*, a *man-biting* (Nic. *Ther.* 824) *sea-serpent*. Σκύλλα = *ποντία κύων* in Anaxil. 22, and *πρίστις* = *κύων θαλάσσιος* in lemma to *A.P.* vii. 506. Just as *θύειν* is said of serpents or big fish, so also with *πρήθειν*; there was a poisonous serpent called *πρηστήρ*. Lucan's catalogue of Libyan pests (which, by the way, takes a passing glance at Cerberus IX. 643) has *amphisbaena* and *prester* within four lines, one monster intervening (719-22), just as with *ἀμφίσβαινα* and my *πῆστις*. There is not very much perhaps in all this; but it shows that I am consistent.

1236-8. For *ὥς δ'* I would read *ὥς*. *ὥς δὲ* makes the speaker pass on to a new point, which is absurd. The sentence is not in fact thus irrelevant. *ἐπωλολύξατο* and *μάχης τροπῇ* patently relate to *Ἄρη*, and indeed *ἐπωλολύξατο* probably relates to *πνέουσιν*. *ὥς* 'means *ὅτι οὕτως*,' and its construction is exactly the same as in our<sup>2</sup> colloquial idiom 'is she not a monster, *the way* she gloated?' This use is Aeschylean; a good example is *Sept.* 418 (cf. Schol.) where *ὥς δικαίως* . . . *ὀρννται* is just like *ὥς*

<sup>1</sup> This of course is perfectly true. Suidas himself may merely have been muddling his Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* ix. 49), but in Aelian *l.c.* she is at least in such company; and anyway there

is my ref. to Oppian.

<sup>2</sup> More common in Ireland; cf. J. M. Synge's plays *passim*.

ἀδεῶς  
The  
Clyt  
prete  
1237  
corre  
refer  
ἔδοξε  
here  
that  
to.  
ἔκατι  
of the  
two  
near  
δὲ in  
89, A  
' 232  
ment  
coger  
admi  
episo  
tune  
Whe  
Aesc  
autho  
consi

V  
eupho

<sup>1</sup> Ye  
pletely  
ώσπερ

ἀδεῶς . . . ἐτελεύτα Plat. *Phaedo* 58E; see also *Suppl.* 734, *Pers.* 772; οἶον P.V. 908. The meaning of 1233-8 is this: what was peculiarly 'brutal' and 'fiendish' in Clytemnestra was the way in which she sardonically crowed over her victim, under pretence of celebrating his triumph when she was in fact celebrating her own. 1237 I conclude with a comma, beginning 1238 with δοκοῦσα; this was Enger's correction of δοκεῖ δέ, and how editors avoid it I cannot conceive;<sup>1</sup> either δοκεῖ δέ refers to the same act as ἐπωλολύξατο or it does not; if it does it will have to be ἐδοξε δέ, which does not scan; if it does not, what is the sense, what is 1238 doing here? But in fact the participial connection with ἐπωλολύξατο is necessary, in order that the meaning may be determined as 'pretend' and not merely as 'be understood to.' For ὡς . . . ἡ παντότολμος compare in its context the similarly resumptive τόλμης ἑκατὶ at *Cho.* 995.

And now I must revert to a point. At 1227 the generally received adjustment of the τ' ἄπαρχος of the MSS. is δ' ἑπαρχος. δ' is undoubtedly required; but these two changes do not account for the corruption. Meineke's τάγαρχος is not only nearer, but stronger and more choice. I accept that word and follow it with δ'. For δέ in third position cf. 296, 744, 1277; for corruption in consequence Hom. *Od.* VII. 89, Aesch. *Sept.* 155, *Soph. Ai.* 169, etc.; similarly with γάρ, Headlam on *Agam.* '232.'

But the passage still suffers as ever from a flaw which nobody, I think, has mentioned, but which seems to me so gross and ludicrous as to destroy at once the cogency and dignity of the entire conception. What is this story of a victorious admiral who, soon after landing, receives a dog-bite? And how is so trivial an episode to be explained by the information that the gallant officer had had the misfortune to be married to this animal and to be supplanted in her affections by a lion? Where in all Greek literature will you find a rigmarole like that? But 'the style of Aeschylus was harsh.' 'That chorus of Red Indians'<sup>2</sup> *Agam.* 104-257. No, the author of the *Prometheus* was no noble savage. I now submit, for the tests of clarity, consistency and fluency, my restoration of the entire passage.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποινάς φημι βουλεύειν τινὰ λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφόμενον, οἰκονρόν, οἶμαι, τῷ μογούντι δεσπότη·	1225
λέων τάγαρχος δ' Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτηρ οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσαν ἢ στυγνὴ κύων δείξασα, καὶ κλίναςα φαίδρὸν οὖς, δάκη ἄτης λαθραίου δήξεται κακῇ τέχνῃ.	1230
ποιᾷ δὲ τόλμῃ θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς ἔσται; τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν; ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβῃν, θύουσαν Ἀιδὸν πρῆστιν ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἀρη	1235
φίλοις πνέουσιν; ὡς ἐπωλολύξατο ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃς τροπῇ, δοκοῦσα χαίρειν νοστήμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.	

What I understand by that is this (with adjustment to English idiom and euphony, and occasional intensification for precision's sake):

For this, I bid you learn, one broods revenge,  
A Lion recreant, wallowing in the lair,

<sup>1</sup> Yes I can; because Enger himself completely destroyed the point through punctuating  
ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃς τροπῇ δοκοῦσα χαίρειν.

<sup>2</sup> See (not his opinion) A. W. Pollard *Odes from the Greek Dramatists* p. vii.

Warden self-styled for the far-toiling master ;  
 Whilst Lion High Commander, flushed from Troy,  
 Dreams not how she, the hateful Hound, that showed  
 Tongue, and inclined the flattering ear, shall yet  
 Deal him her treacherous bites of darkling doom.  
 Nay, what ferocity ! Female thus to entrap  
 And butcher male ? To what fell biting thing  
 Must I resemble her ? Amphisbaena she ?  
 The fang-tailed snake ? Say deadly Scylla rather,  
 Housed in her bluff to snare the voyager,  
 Part female and part fiend, pitiful as shark,  
 Breathing against her lord quarterless war.  
 Even so but now rose her unholy paean,  
 Fervent as warrior's when the battle turns,  
 The gloat that hailed her victory masked in his.

Thus instead of Hell's own mother I find a sea-monster, and in place of the dog-bitten admiral a lion. A lion, obviously, he already was; *δεσπότη* in that sentence, the master of that *λέχος*, can be nothing else; and see how exactly my *τῷ μογοῦντι δεσπότη* here corresponds to Cassandra's next oracular reference to Agamemnon, 1259, *λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπονοσίῃ*. Note also how clearly my *δὲ* in third position opposes *λέων τάγαρχος* to *λέοντ' ἀναλκιν*, so that instead of the nonsense 'and similarly (τε) the ἀπαρχος of ships' we get 'but the militant lion.' It was the imbecile interpolation 1226 that had utterly obscured the ease or rather inevitability with which *λέων τάγαρχος* immediately followed *μογοῦντι δεσπότη* as antithetic to *λέοντ' ἀναλκιν*.

The whole prophecy is conceived—as oracles regularly were, if I began to cite now I should take too much space—in terms of animal imagery. And in omens and oracles representing contests, if one adversary is an animal so is the other. Thus in *Od.* XIX. 536 ff. *αἰετός, χήνες*; *Ar. Knights* 1017 ff. *κύων, κολοιοί*; 1037 f. *λέων, κώνωπες*; 1051 ff. other creatures. Similarly in our poem cf. 114-120, and as between Clytemnestra and Agamemnon *βόδις . . . ταῦρον* 1125 f., *λέαινα . . . λέοντος* 1258 f.; and of those two elsewhere also, *Cho.* 247-51. Over and over again in Greek literature oracles are described as riddles. This riddle the Elders—of course—declare themselves unable to comprehend, and when Cassandra then says 'Αγαμέμνονος σέ φημι' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον they are terribly startled. Had she said *νεῶν κτλ.* here it would have been too explicit. But we, the audience, and even the simplest of us, must be left in no doubt of the identity of Lion Militant, and therefore 'Ιλ. δν. is added, according also to the characteristically Aeschylean locution by which a figure (particularly when fantastic) will be immediately followed by a phrase which 'repeats in plain words the preceding metaphorical description' as Headlam said; a very nice example is *Sept.* 206 f., and many others also will be found in his note on *Agam.* 7 (itself in my opinion *not* an instance). My line is thus absolutely in the oracular manner of (e.g.) *Sept.* 940-2. For the significance of the lion throughout this poem see Headlam on '147'; and for Agamemnon as Lion Militant see 827, where the reference is determined by the contrast with Priam.

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## TWO NOTES ON GREEK POETRY.

### I. THE SECOND ODE OF SAPPHO.

IN an interesting paper read some time ago to the Cambridge Philological Society (summarized in the *Cambridge University Reporter* of Feb. 16, 1932), H. J. M. Milne analysed the first Ode of Sappho (ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα) and showed that it is constructed according to those principles of poetical form which we should expect to find in the work of so delicate a Greek artist. If more of these lyrics had survived in their entirety, the task of expounding the technique of Greek poetry would be simpler than it is, because naturally the principles are more easily grasped in a short lyric than in epic or drama.

It is commonly supposed that the first is the only complete ode of Sappho's. Yet the formal unity of the second seems even clearer and simpler than that of the first. What Sappho says is this: φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν . . . τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης φαίνομαι. Surely, this is plain to ear and to understanding alike. 'He seems like the immortal Gods, while I, poor mortal, seem about to die.' I find it hard to believe that the poem does not end there, because, if it does, it is perfect.

In the text of the *περὶ ὕψους*, where the piece is quoted, the word φαίνομαι of the fourth stanza is followed by the words ἀλλὰ πᾶν τολματὸν ἐπεὶ πένητα, which look as if they were the beginning of a fifth stanza. Yet it is clear that the portion of the poem, which was relevant to the critic's purpose in quoting it, ended with the fourth stanza, and hence it is strange that he should have prolonged the quotation beyond its natural close, only to break off in the middle, not merely of a stanza, but of a sentence. For this reason Ahrens, and at one time Bergk, regarded these words as a corrupt portion of the critic's comment; and, though their attempts to emend them are hardly satisfactory, it seems doubtful whether the words belong to this poem of Sappho's.

In any case, the last word of the fourth stanza is missing. Bergk suggested ἄλλα *demens*, Blass ἄλλα *alii mulieri*; but both these ideas seem incongruous. Hermann suggested Ἀτθί, and Diehl, following Paton, writes φαίνομ', Ἀγαλλι. It is easy in these personal lyrics to seek refuge from a difficulty in a proper name; but it was not the practice of the Greek poets to introduce names at random. The epic and tragic poets devoted much artistry to this matter (cf. my note on Aesch. *P.V.* 5), and we may be sure that the lyric poets did the same. Moreover, it is hard to conceive how Sappho, at the very crisis, when her consciousness is failing, could address by name that being of whom she cannot even speak except to say that he who can listen to her voice and live must be a god.

In the first stanza Sappho speaks of the man. In the second and third she describes her own sensations—her heart, her voice, her tongue, then her flesh, her eyes, her ears,—but objectively, as though they belonged to another person, as the writer of the *περὶ ὕψους* observes (ὡς ἀλλότρια). In the last stanza, however, to point the contrast with the first, she speaks of herself more directly: χλωροτέρα δὲ ποῖας ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης φαίνομαι . . . Now, in Greek, when, after speaking of a part or parts of yourself, you went on to speak of your whole self, you used αὐτός. This is a recognized use of the pronoun (Hermann *Opusc.* i. pp. 325-6). Perhaps the best example is *Il.* xxii. 83-4, where Hecuba uncovers her breasts and cries Ἐκτορ, τέκνον ἑμὸν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον αὐτήν. Another is xxi. 244-5

ἐπίσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα . . . γεφύρωσεν δέ μιν αὐτόν, and essentially the same is vii. 474 ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινοῖσ', ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσιν. Therefore I suspect that the last word in Sappho's stanza was αὐτα, which completes the sense and by strengthening the verbal resposnion emphasizes the dramatic contrast: φαίνεται μοι κῆνος . . . φαίνομαι αὐτα.

## II. AN AESCHYLEAN IMAGE.

In the *parodos* of the *Prometheus*, the Oceanids tell us that they have come 'without their sandals' (140 σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος), and this is because they were in such a hurry that they had no time to put them on: Theocr. XIX (XXIV) 36 ἄνστα μηδὲ ποδέσσι ἐοῖς ὑπὸ σάνδαλα θείης. The Aeschylean passage is the earliest in which the idea is found, but it can hardly have been actually the first, or the poet would have been more explicit. It is a pretty image, and perhaps he borrowed it from Phrynichus. Somewhat similar, though the context is different, is Sophocles' picture of Antigone wandering through the woods 'without food and barefooted': O.C. 348-9 πολλὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγρίαν ὕλην ἄσιτος νήλιπός τ' ἄλωμένη.

The image was elaborated by the Alexandrians. On the one hand, we have the happy girl-votaries of Demeter 'unsandalled and unveiled': Callim. *Cer.* 124-5 ὥς δ' ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμπυκες ἄστυ πατεύμεν, ὥς πόδας ὥς κεφαλὰς παναπηρέας ἔξομες αἰεῖ. And on the other, the mourning Aphrodite who roams the woods not only unsandalled, but her hair uncombed and flying free: Bion 1. 21 ἃ δ' Ἀφροδίτα λυσαμένη πλοκαμίδας ἀνὰ δρύμῳς ἀλάληται πενθαλία νήπεκτος ἀσάνδαλος. And later we meet with another girl in distress, without her veil and without her tunic: Opp. *de ven.* 1. 497-8 ἀχίτων δειλή τε καὶ ἀκρήδεμνος ἐοῦσα στρωφᾶται. So, later still, in Nonnus, Autonoe, who mourned for her lost Actaeon νήλιπος ἀκρήδεμνος (v. 374), wanders through the woods in search of him: v. 405-7 φοιταλείς δὲ ποδέσσι διερχομένη ῥάχιν ὕλην τρηχαλῆς ἐπάτησε δυσέμβατα νῶτα κολώνης λυσιχίτων ἀπέδιλος. By this time all these epithets had become associated with the conventional description of the nymphs (*ibid.* v. 374, viii. 16-19, xi. 248, xiv. 382), and as such they had already appeared in prose romances: Longus *Daphnis et Chloe* 1. 4 πόδες ἀννπόδητοι, χεῖρες εἰς ὤμους γυμναί, κόμαι μετὰ τῶν ἀνχένων λελυμέναι, *ibid.* ii. 23, cf. Ach. Tat. i. 1. 7.

Of course these are fancies which any poet might have thought of: 'O wherefore should I busk my heid, Or wherefore should I kame my hair? For my true love has me forsook, and says he'll never lo'e me mair.' But the Greek passages are clearly all in the same tradition; and therefore, looking to the diction as well as to the thought, I think the tradition may survive in a modern Greek ballad (Πολίτης 'Εκλογαί 74. 113-15), which describes how a girl has been lured by love-charms out of her house into the darkness: Ποῦς εἶδε ν' ἥλιο ἀπὸ βραδὺς κι' ἄστρι 'ς τὸ μεσημέρι; Ποῦς εἶδε τὴ Λιωγέννητῃ νὰ περπατῇ 'ς τοὺς δρόμους, Ξεσκούφωτῃ, ξυπόλυτῃ καὶ ξεμαλλοπλεμένη; 'Who has seen a sun after dark and a star at noon? who has seen Heliogénnete walking the roads bareheaded, barefooted, her hair unbound?'

The ballad in which these lines occur is said to be one of the oldest in the collection. If this is a genuine survival, it is not the only one, though, so far as I know, the subject has never been properly investigated.

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<sup>1</sup> Phi  
vol. VI  
p. 144  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>5</sup> *Die*

PHILO: IN FLACCUM 131 (M. 2 p. 536).

(Lampon) προσετὼς τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιεν, ὑπεμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὡς ἔχων τάξιν, εἶτα τὰ μὲν ἀπὴλπειν κτλ.

THE words ὡς ἔχων τάξιν do not give a satisfactory sense. The MS which Cohn-Wendland-Reiter<sup>1</sup> designate A adds τοιάνδε after τάξιν. The methods of A's intelligent scribe are sufficiently exposed by Reiter.<sup>2</sup> When through inadvertently omitting part of a sentence he could not understand the text, he freely altered and inserted words so as to make it intelligible. A man who was capable of this procedure was capable of inserting τοιάνδε after τάξιν in this passage. We may confidently say that τοιάνδε is based on no authority, an arbitrary addition of the scribe for the sake of making ὡς ἔχων clear.

Mangey conjectured ἔχοιεν for ἔχων.<sup>3</sup> Now some of the passages where τάξιν with a part of ἔχω occurs in Philo are collected in Leisegang's *Indices* s.v. τάξις p. 762. In all these a possessive genitive or its equivalent is joined to the noun. A slighter change than that proposed by Mangey yields a genitive falling within that range of meanings that is appropriate to the context. For εἰσάγων read εἰσαγωγέως. This reading also gives ὑπεμνηματίζετο an accusative, its normal construction.

An εἰσαγωγέως is recorded in papyri from several Egyptian towns, notably in connection with the χρηματισταί. In *PREv. Laws* col. 15 ο ε[ι]σαγωγέως [των χρηματιστων] is one of those officials who are ineligible for becoming tax-farmers. *PTeb.* 29, 1 reads τοῖς χρηματισταῖς ὧν εἰσαγωγέως Δω[ . . . ]. For the association of this official with the χρηματισταί cf. also *PFay.* 11, 26 (2nd B.C.) χρηματισταί ὧν εἰσαγωγέως Δωσίθεος: and with a στρατηγός *PFay.* 23 a, 3 (2nd A.D.). See further Preisigke: *Wörterbuch* s.v. εἰσαγωγέως, III 1 Abschnitt 8, p. 110.

Without assigning to them an official designation Hirschfeld<sup>4</sup> recognized both Lampon and Lucian as holders of subordinate posts in the prefectal chancellery of Alexandria. The functions performed by Lucian are, in a large measure, identical with those ascribed by Philo to Lampon: *Luc. Apol.* p. 721-2 (Jacobitz, I) ἔγωγ' οὖν δόξαιμ' ἂν σοι οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον τῆς Αἰγυπτίας ταύτης ἀρχῆς ἐγκεχειρίσθαι, τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων καὶ τάξιν αὐταῖς τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιτιθεῖναι καὶ τῶν πραττομένων καὶ λεγομένων ἀπαξαπάντων ὑπομνήματα γράφειν τὰς τε ῥητορείας τῶν δικαιολογούντων ῥυθμίζειν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀρχοντος γνώσεις πρὸς τὸ σαφέστατον ἅμα καὶ ἀκριβέστατον πίστει τῇ μεγίστῃ διαφυλάττειν καὶ παραδιδόναι δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀποκεισομένας. Lietzmann<sup>5</sup> saw in Lampon the prefectal ὑπομνηματογράφος, doubtless inferring the title from the verb ὑπεμνηματίζετο in the present passage. Now in Alexandria the ὑπομνηματογράφος is known to have exercised judicial functions.<sup>7</sup> Oertel<sup>8</sup> defines the title as 'Protokollführer des Präfecten vornehmlich bei dessen richterlichen Tätigkeit; daher öfter als judex selbst delegiert. Rangmässig steht er höher als der Gymnasiarch.' Meyer<sup>9</sup> denies any relation between the functions described in this passage

<sup>1</sup> Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt: vol. VI *edd.* L. Cohn et S. Reiter. (Berlin) 1915, p. 144 *app. crit.* ad l. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* VI: Prolegomena II, pp. lvi-lvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* VI: p. 144 *app. crit.* ad l. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* VII.

<sup>5</sup> *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf*

*Diokletian*<sup>3</sup> (1905) pp. 367.

<sup>6</sup> *Kleine Texte* 14, n. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *PTeb.* 286 (= *Chrest.* II 83, 13 ff.) (121-138 A.D.); *POxy.* 1102 (ca. 146 B.C.); *PSyras.* 22, 28 (90 B.C.).

<sup>8</sup> *Liturgie* p. 351 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *PHamb.* p. 78, 4.

of Philo and also that quoted above from Lucian and those of the ὑπομνηματογράφος of Alexandria. 'Dass seine Tätigkeit eine subalterne gewesen sei, ist innerlich so unwahrscheinlich wie nur irgend möglich, und es fehlt auch jede Spur hierfür.'

If the reading εἰσαγωγέως in this passage could be accepted, it would clear up the difficulty felt by Meyer and at the same time add to the prefectal chancellery an official whose title, so far as I know, is nowhere else recorded.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. H. I. Bell, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for kindly reading this note and giving me the benefit of his criticism.

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## TERENTIANA

M. MAROUZEAU has re-directed attention<sup>1</sup> to the peculiarity of Terentian versification by which a monosyllabic word (preposition, conjunction or interjection) is put at the end of the line, though it belongs, in point of sense, to the beginning of the next line. There is thus, for the copyist or 'corrector,' a strong temptation to shift the little word to the beginning of the next line, or even to drop it altogether. Where scansion allows, the second course can be adopted without arousing any suspicions.

M. Marouzeau surmises that some such monosyllables must have vanished without leaving a trace, and he rightly emphasizes that if any indication survives it should be given full consideration. His proposed restoration of *au* to the end of *Eun.* 215 is not, however, a happy one; for *au* is exclusively a woman's exclamation and could not be used by the slave Parmeno. But, though Codex Bembinus (A) and most of the minuscule MSS. present an unruffled surface with *memini* at the beginning of l. 216:

- 214 PH. munu' nostrum ornato verbis, quod poteris, et istum aemulum,  
 215 quod poteris ab ea pellito. (iamb. dim. acatal.)  
 216 PA. memini, tam etsi nullu' moneas. PH. ego rus ibo atque ibi manebo,

there is reason to examine the variants of the rest, viz. *aut mini* C<sup>1</sup>: *au memini* P ('vetustus me non habet'), schol. C, p<sup>2</sup> Ev. We could argue for an *aut* (without change of speaker) at the end of l. 215 by pointing to Donatus' note *ad loc.*—'*properat servus carpere vaniloquium domini.*' Suppose that Parmeno interrupted Phaedra brusquely when the latter was going on to add something more. Line 215 would thus run:

quod poteris ab ea pellito aut—

But that is perhaps to read too much into *properat*. Whatever the missing word may have been, it clearly usurped the place of *me* of *memini*, as the reference of P to the *vetustus* (sc. *liber*) shows. Now, an *ah* or an *at* of Parmeno's might conceivably have been transferred to the beginning of l. 216 and then corrupted. But I shall not speculate farther on this, probably significant, variation of the  $\gamma$  group of MSS.

An account of the way in which *at* at the end of the Terentian line has been shifted or lost may, however, be instructive.

In *Haut.* 71-72 (iamb. senar.):

haec non volūptati tibi esse sati' certo scio. at  
 enim dices 'quantum hic operi' fiat poenitet.'

all the MSS. agree in the position of *at* in the second line. But l. 72 will not scan unless we restore it to the end of l. 71.

In *Andr.* 838-839 (troch. septenar.):

CH. erras: cum Davo egomet vidi iurgantem ancillam. SI. scio. CH. at  
 vero vultu, quom ibi me adesse neuter tum praesenserant.

there is no question that *at* with the change of speaker (as so often, with other monosyllables as well) has been displaced to the beginning of l. 839 by all the minuscule MSS. Jovialis too put it there; it may or may not have been omitted by A.

<sup>1</sup> In *Études Latines*, 1934, F. 1, p. 50.

In *Andr.* 893-894 (iamb. senar.):

PA. pater, licetne pauca? SI. quid dices mihi? CH. at  
tamen, Simo, audi. SI. ego audiam? quid audiam,  
(Chreme?)

A and all the minuscule MSS. excepting G (and v, which has *et*) have dropped *at* altogether, while G (and v) put it at the head of l. 894. By the thinnest of threads *at* survives.

In *Phorm.* 310-311 (iamb. senar.):

recta via quidem—illuc. GE. nempe ad Pamphilam.  
DE. ego deos Penatis hinc salutatum domum  
(devortar).

the evidence for *at* is strong. All the MSS. with the exception of D<sup>1</sup>GL<sup>1</sup> (8) have it (at the beginning of l. 311). It appears also in a loose quotation in Servius (*Aen.* XII, 257). The phraseology is normal. Cf. *Andr.* 226. With Hauler I should give it to Demea at the end of l. 310, though I am aware of the other tendency in Terence MSS. to insert an adversative particle which is 'understood.'

We come now to an old Terentian crux, *Haut.* 589 (iamb. senar.):

CL. di te eradicent, Syre, qui me hinc † extrudis!  
590 SY. at tu pol tibi istas posthac comprimito manus!  
589 istinc γ D<sup>2</sup>L -das C<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>λ Syre om. v 590 pol om. Σ post D<sup>1</sup>

All is plain sailing if, in spite of all the MSS., we put SY. *at* at the end of l. 589. The other line reads perfectly without *at*. *Ad.* 836: *bonae tuae istae nos rationes*, Micio, to take one instance, scans in much the same way. The position of *pol*, second in the line, is a very common one. See *Eun.* 883; *Hec.* 280, 728, 734, 772, 839; *Haut.* 723; *Phorm.* 874. And *tu pol* seems a natural enough collocation if *ego pol* is possible (*Haut.* 730, 1060). The only doubt one has is about the unexplained omission of *pol* by all the minuscule MSS., that is, by the Calliopian Text. No plausible reason can be offered for the omission, whether by accident or by design. Unless we could conceive here that the 'editor' was troubled about scansion and, not knowing that the first syllable of *istas* could be short, chose to drop *pol*, just as he substituted *istinc* (unsuccessfully) for *hinc* in the previous line.

For the sake of completeness, two passages deserve mention in which metre forbids us to place *at* at the end of the line, though at a first glance we are tempted to try it. They are *Eun.* 750-751 (iamb. octonar. troch. septenar.):

CH. et habetur et referetur, Thais, ita uti merita's, gratia.  
TH. at enim cavē ne priu' quam hanc a me accipias amittas, Chreme.

and *Phorm.* 909-910 (iamb. senar.):

postquam id tanto opere vos velle animum advorteram.  
DE. at hic dehörtatus est me nē illam tibi darem.

These two lines remind us that it is a mistake to look for rigid uniformity in a writer's usage.

We turn to another source of trouble in the text of Terence. Take *Haut.* 596 (troch. septenar.):

repperisti tibi quod placeat an non[dum etiam]? SY. de fallacia  
(dicis?) quid D placet D<sup>1</sup>

I formerly suggested that some synonym of *fallacia*, some archaic word of two syllables, might have been ousted from Terence the school-book. But the 'trick' of

Syrus is always *fallacia*, and fresh evidence points in another direction. To begin with, it can be shown that in other lines of Terence *etiam* has been added to *nondum*. It will be simplest to give each line with the *apparatus criticus* of the Oxford Terence. *Andr.* 659 (iamb. senar.):

nondum scis. CH. scio equidem illam ducturum esse te  
scis] etiam scis C.

*Phorm.* 445 (iamb. senar.):

abi, vise redieritne iam an nondum domum  
abi tu vise Σ nond. etiam Iov.

*Ad.* 467 (iamb. senar.):

vitiavit. DE. hem HE. manē nondum audisti, Demea  
etiam n. au. δ (n. e. au. ϕ); n.e. audis (ut vid.) Don.

We see one MS., then Jovialis, then all the MSS. together, foisting *etiam* on lines which will not contain it. In the third instance not much faith can be put in *audis*, the reading only of V of the MSS. of Donatus, as an indication that, after all, *nondum etiam* is right.

Why should there be this tendency to add *etiam*? It must be confessed that no satisfactory reason can be given. We can cite lines in which the formula *nondum etiam* is free from suspicion entirely.

*Andr.* 201 (iamb. octon.):

quid, hoc intellexti[n] an nondum etiam ne hoc quidem? DA. immo callide.  
(It is almost certainly the question particle that is at fault here.)

*Andr.* 807 (iamb. senar.):

(806 CR. quid Glycerium? iam hic suos parentes repperit?)  
MY. utinam! CR. an nondum etiam? haud auspicato huc me appuli.

*Hec.* 192 (iamb. senar.):

quid egerint inter se nondum etiam scio.

There can hardly be a question that these lines are correct as they stand. Now, Donatus says of *etiam*, in the first: '*abundat "etiam,"*' in the third: *παρέλκον tertium*—both of which remarks mean that *etiam* is redundant. As a general rule this comment, or rather this point of view which we must suppose to have been common to most commentators on Terence, would lead to the excision of the redundant word by some pedant or purist. 'If superfluous, then not Terence.' But we have seen that *etiam* is ADDED, and I can only suggest that the formula *nondum etiam*, which is exactly employed in *Andr.* 201, 807 and *Hec.* 192 ('not even yet'), somehow took the schoolmasters' fancy and tended to make its way in everywhere.

So far we have considered only *etiam*. There remains the variation between *non* and *nondum*. Donatus, on *Phorm.* 147 (iamb. senar.):

DA. pater ei(u)s rediit an non? GE. nondum. DA. quid? senem  
(quoad expectati' vostrum?)

makes the comment: "*nondum*," *quia veniet, iam non plena negatio est.*' *Non* and *nondum* strictly defined. What if somewhere in Terence a *non* should have been conversationally employed instead of *nondum*? Would not *nondum* be substituted in the text? We look for examples, expecting at least a few convincing ones, but they are not to be found. Unless it is possible to see one in *Phorm.* 492, where Cod. Bemb. has *nondum* and all the minuscule MSS. together *non*. There is no test

by which we can decide which version is Terence's. At this particular point there is a transition from iambs to trochees, and we do not know enough about these transitions (very curious they are sometimes) to be able to say that a line must be this and not that. Nor is the distinction 'not' and 'not yet' clearly marked by the context, as it is in *Andr.* 186 (iamb. octonar.):

SI. hoccin agis an non? DA. ego vero istuc. SI. sed nunc ea me exquirere.

Let us return to the problem of *Haut.* 596. We have now reason to believe that *etiam* tends to be added to *nondum*. Let us cut out *etiam*. Then the line will not be satisfactory unless we adopt the reading *placet* of the solitary MS. D. If this evidence had more weight I should certainly decide in favour of

repperisti tibi quod placet an nondum? SY. de fallacia.

But the weight of MS. evidence is for *placeat*, which is also the *lectio difficilior*. So *dum etiam* must go. Certainly the trouble lies there and not elsewhere.

There is one more line with *nondum etiam*, *Hec.* 745 (troch. septenar.):

manē: nondum etiam dixi id quod volui. hic nunc uxorem habet.

Metrically it is so awkward that one is hopeful of mending it by the excision of *etiam*, but it resists surgical treatment in that quarter.

In these notes I have selected two types of error in our MSS. of Terence and tried to explain them, at the same time indicating where corruption is proved, where it is doubtful, and where there is no ground for tampering with the accepted text at all. The method of grouping errors of the same type may possibly be found useful in other textual difficulties.

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## THE GERUNDIVE AS FUTURE PARTICIPLE PASSIVE IN THE PANEGYRICI LATINI.

*Panegyric IV* (Nazarius), 24, 2: diducta acie inreuocabilem impetum hostis effundis, dein quos ludificandos receperas reductis agminibus includis.

Acidalius' correction *ludificando* is accepted in both the Teubner editions. The addition of the *s* would, of course, be an easy error, and quite characteristic of the MSS. of these authors.<sup>1</sup> But there is no need for the correction, in view of the frequency, in the *Panegyrici Latini*, of the Gerundive as a Future Participle Passive, an unquestionable example of which occurs, in fact, in the last sentence of the chapter in question.<sup>2</sup> 'Quos ludificandos receperas' means 'whom you had admitted with the intention that they should be tricked,' is equivalent in sense to 'quos ludificaturus receperas.' The Gerundive used as Future Participle Passive gives an appropriate picture of the *purpose* with which the manoeuvre described by *receperas* was carried out.

But the general question of this usage in the *Panegyrici Latini* is of much greater interest and importance than the problem of this one reading. There is an excellent account of the usage in Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* (3rd ed.), vol. 3, pp. 180-185, and Kühner, in his *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (2nd ed.) vol. 2, part 1, pp. 733-734, writes as follows: 'Erst seit dem Ende des III Jahr. n. Chr., namentlich bei den scriptores hist. Aug., Ammianus Marc., Symmachus und Sidonius wird das Gerundiv ohne den Verbenbegriff der Notwendigkeit in rein futurischem Sinne zur Umschreibung des Futurum Passivi gebraucht.' These, and Rönsch,<sup>3</sup> quote examples from the authors mentioned, also from the Vulgate and other works of Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, Salvianus, etc., but not a single instance from the *Panegyrici Veteres*. And yet these speeches (Pliny's, of course, is left out of the reckoning), delivered at ascertainable dates during the hundred years between A.D. 292 and 391, are calculated to present an instructive picture of the growth of an idiom. Thus we find that this usage, already existing in Tertullian, but not current until the end of the third century, does not occur in the first three speeches of the series, numbered X, XI and IX, whose dates are A.D. 292, 292 and 296 respectively. In VIII (A.D. 296) there is one example, none in VII (A.D. 307), one in VI (A.D. 310), none in V or XII (A.D. 311 and 313), four in IV (A.D. 321). Of the remaining two speeches, III (A.D. 362) has two examples, and II (A.D. 391) no fewer than nine. This brings us to the age of the literary activity of Ammianus and Symmachus, in whose work this habit is particularly prevalent.

The examples referred to are as follows:

VIII, 3, 3: gubernacula maiora quaerebat aucta atque *augenda* res publica.

VI, 9, 4: noua deum numina uniuerso orbi *colenda* descendunt.

IV, 24, 2: quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> v. Hall, *Comp. to Class. Texts*, pp. 174-175, and cf., in W. Baehrens' edition, *Pan.* II, 34, 4; III, 4, 7; IV, 33, 5 and 6; IV, 34, 1; V, 4, 4; VI, 1, 5; VII, 13, 3; XI, 3, 9; XI, 16, 2; XII, 1, 1; XII, 11, 1.

<sup>2</sup> viz. IV, 24, 7, 'patefactum est in his armis tantam inesse uiolentiam ut et uincendus fideret et superaturus timeret,' where, however, the force of the Gerundive is, as we shall see, of a

different kind, involving no idea of intention or purpose. With *ludificandos receperas* compare Amm. Marc., XVI, 12, 22, 'incautum rectorem praecipitem agere, leui negotio trucidandum,' which, like *ludificandos*, may be regarded as an extension of the usage described in Roby's *Latin Grammar*, part II, § 1401, and *Pref.*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Itala und Vulgata* (2nd ed.) pp. 433-434.

- IV, 24, 7: quoted in note 2.  
 IV, 27, 5: illum semper *exedendae* urbis uisceribus inhaerentem ex adsuetis latebris uis diuinitatis excussit.  
 IV, 38, 2: decennia Caesarum nobilissimorum ultra posteros nostros *extendenda* quam impense rogare et orare nos conueniat . . . admonemur.  
 III, 30, 1: mandanda sunt litteris . . . uenturis saeculis uix *credenda* miracula.  
 III, 31, 2: non potest quicquam abiectum et humile cogitare qui scit de se semper *loquendum*.  
 II, 11, 5: tu dubitas (rem publicam) excipere conlapsam et, ut nihil differas, sero *reparandam*?  
 II, 19, 1: nec uota hominum fatigare nec adhibere muneribus artem difficultatis, sed denuntiare *praestanda*.  
 II, 19, 3: tu promittendo *praestanda* inuenisti tempus quod nobis natura subtraxerat; ut quos adepta solum iuuabant etiam *adipiscenda* delectent.  
 II, 27, 1: est improborum principum postrema defensio auferre *donanda* et inuidiam rapinarum magnitudine munerum deprecari.  
 II, 31, 3: res ipsas interrogemus et, quae certissima coniectatio est, colligamus *gerenda* gestis.  
 II, 39, 5: neque enim, quia se diuina mortalibus dedignantur fateri, idcirco quae uisa non fuerint dubitabimus facta, cum facta uideamus quae dubitauerimus *esse facienda*.  
 II, 42, 1: quando ille secum ferro *transigendum* putabat?  
 II, 45, 3: scimus quidem nihil umquam *nouandum*, cum Romanum semper imperium aut tuum futurum sit aut tuorum.

There is an interesting statistical difference between the usage in the Panegyrist and in the other authors from whom it is usually quoted. In the latter the Gerundive most commonly appears (a) with *esse* written or understood, to form a Future Infinitive Passive, (b) with some other part of the verb *sum*, to form a periphrastic Future Passive in the Indicative or Subjunctive, e.g. *uincendus sum*, *sim*, *eram*, *essem*, *fuerim*.<sup>1</sup> Of the seventeen examples quoted above only four are of this kind, and all belong to (a), viz.: III, 31, 2; II, 39, 5; II, 42, 1; II, 45, 3. In all the other instances the Gerundive is used as an ordinary participle, equivalent to an adjective or a verb-clause.

This Gerundive being the passive equivalent of the Future Participle Active, its various shades of meaning, like those of the latter, fall into two groups. In one of these its force is purely temporal, while in the other something in the mind of the subject, such as intention or purpose, is indicated. The latter is, naturally, the less common of the two, but common enough to justify the retention of *ludificandos* in the passage referred to. The examples of this group are: IV, 27, 5; II, 19, 1; II, 19, 3 (*praestanda*); II, 27, 1. All the remaining cases are purely temporal, in the sense that this indication of a person's intention is absent. But in a number of cases, just as when the Future Participle Active is used, the inevitability of a future event is suggested, the meaning is 'certain to,' or 'destined to,' rather than 'about to.' It is difficult, and scarcely profitable, to distinguish these cases from those expressing simple futurity alone, but such, we may consider, are VI, 9, 4 and IV, 24, 7. It must be admitted that Livy approaches very near to this usage in such a phrase as 'inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos' (XXI, 21, 8).

This use of the Gerundive gave the authors a welcome opportunity to effect an antithesis between past and future participles, an opportunity which the genius of the language had hitherto almost denied to Latin writers. They were not slow to avail

<sup>1</sup> v. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 654.

themselves of it. Consequently we find *aucta atque augenda res publica*<sup>1</sup> (VIII, 3, 3), *ut quos adepta solum iuuabant etiam adipiscenda delectent* (II, 19, 3), *colligamus gerenda gestis*<sup>2</sup> (II, 31, 3), *cum facta uideamus quae dubitauerimus esse facienda* (II, 39, 5).

Finally it is of interest to note an instance in which the Future Participle Active has retaliated against this invasion of its territory by intruding on that of the Gerundive. In II, 16, 3 we read 'Dux aliquis euehitur: exigit disciplina castrorum. Praefectus attollitur: imponendum est prouinciis caput. Consul creatur: habiturus est nomen annus.' *Habiturus est* means 'must have,' and is employed in juxtaposition with a Gerundive possessing the normal meaning of obligation.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Julius Capitolinus, *Clod. Alb.*, 4, 'familia . . . per te aucta et augenda'

<sup>2</sup> gerenda=quae gerenda fuerint ('what he would have done').

## NOTES ON THE PROSODY OF *ENIM*.

THE pyrrhic scansion of pre-consonantal *enim*<sup>1</sup> in the Republican dramatists is so general (e.g. *Epid.* 94, *at enim tu*- [Cretic monometer]) that the question arises how far, precisely, iambic scansion was employed by the same poets. Of the former there is an often-quoted example in Ennius—

Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem (*Ann.* 371)

The evidence from Terence, which is less in quantity than that from Plautus, can be considered first. In the traditional and accepted text of Terence *enim* occurs independently 31 times; in combination with *vero* 13 times, where it is invariably the equivalent of a pyrrhic.

Of the 31 occurrences of *enim*, the scansion is pyrrhic 20 times beyond question. The second syllable suffers elision 6 times, and so far cannot be cited as evidence.

Of the other 5 occurrences, 2 are at the end of the line, and inconclusive:—*Hec.* 850 (troch. dim. cat.), *Ad.* 656 (iamb. sen.). In two other lines, *enim* is divided between two feet, and the second syllable does not bear metrical ictus (so German editors may accept *enim* without compunction):—

*Hec.* 311 quapropter? quia enim qui eos guber//nat . . . (iamb. oct.)

*Ad.* 730 quid nunc futurumst? id enim quod res ipsa fert (iamb. sen.)

On rhythmical grounds one has no hesitation in accepting (with Kauer-Lindsay) pyrrhic scansion in both the lines.

The remaining line is peculiarly interesting:—

*Phor.* 555 //verum enim metuo malum (troch. sept.)

Here the second syllable not only bears metrical ictus, but is the sixth arsis of the line, i.e. occurs 'in loco Jacobsohniano.' The editors for whom metrical ictus determines the operation of Brevis-Brevians will cite this line as an example of the iambic scansion of *enim* 'in locis Jacobsohniatis.' If so, it is the solitary example in Terence. Those who deny the implication (cf. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, p. 57) will scan *enim*; then the evidence for loc. Jacobs. disappears.

There remain three lines of Terence offering textual difficulty:—

(a) *Eun.* 355 immo enim si scias quod donum huic// Kauer-Lindsay.  
A omits *enim*. Eugraphius cites as above.

(b) *ibid.* 789 omnia prius experiri // quam armis sapientem decet  
So Donatus and modern editors. The antediluvian Wagner observed: In *omnia* the neutral *a* appears in its original long quantity. The second foot however is a tribrach, not a dactyl. Fleckeisen—omnia *enim* &c., which is unnecessary, as well as unsupported.

(c) *Andr.* 809 semper eiu' dictast esse haec atque habita est soror  
I quote the critical note of Kauer-Lindsay:—*D*<sup>1</sup> *L*<sup>1</sup> *p* *Don.* in *Ad.* 48; sem. dicta e. G: sem. enim d. *cett.* esse om. *D*<sup>1</sup> *L*<sup>1</sup> *p*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Unaccented conjunctions or particles like *enim*, *nempe* or *quando* are usually spoken rapidly, and do not occupy nearly as much time in pronunciation as iambic, trochaic or spondaic substantives such as *domo*, *bella*, *bellō*. Under these circumstances the particles cannot retain

their value in popular speech; consequently iambic particles like *quia*, *ita*, *enim*, *apud*, *tamen*, were usually measured as pyrrhics in O. Lat. (R. S. Radford in *A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 434). But this list of 'iambic particles' is open to objection.



But in his commentary on the *Andria* Donatus cites this line—

semper enim dicta est esse haec atque habita est soror,

with a note—SEMPER EIUS a possibili et utili (eius] enim T. C.) The second hand of D has *enim* supersc.; D<sup>2</sup> used a γ-text.

The line is more effective with a demonstrative pronoun: Crito remarks with some emphasis that Glycerium has always been considered Chrysis' sister.

\* \* These three lines offer no reliable evidence to controvert *enim* pyrrhic.

## II

The evidence from Plautus is more extensive (cf. Lodge, *Lex. Plaut.* s.v.). Here *enim* occurs either independently or in conjunction (*enimvero*) 153 times in lines of which the text is not disputed. In practically half of these (72) *enim* is indubitably a pyrrhic; e.g.

*Amph.* 333 hinc enim mihidextra vox auris // (troch. sept.)

*Asin.* 688 enimvero utrumque.—ergo, opsecro, et // tu (iamb. sept.)

*Aul.* 500 enim mihi quidem aequomst purpuram atque aurum dari (iamb. sen.)

i.e. *enim* is found a pyrrhic in all long metres as well as iambic senarii.

In 31 lines *enim* suffers elision.

If we except a few bacchiacs and cretics, also six lines which will be discussed below, there remain some forty lines in which the pyrrhic scansion, while not established with certainty as in the lines above, is in all cases possible. Such are:—

*Bacch.* 457 di te ament, Philoxene. Hic enim // rite (troch. sept.)

*Mil.* 810 ego enim dicam tum quando usus // poscet (troch. sept.)

*Most.* 888 qui parasitus sum ? ego enim dicam // (troch. oct.)

Lindsay (*op. cit.* p. 86) pointed out Klotz's error in listing as anapaests what were often in fact tribrachs. In the lines under discussion the foot is usually divided between words closely connected in the context—the first word usually being a monosyllable or elided disyllable—but the analogy of the pyrrhic scansion elsewhere, as well as the line-rhythm, frequently demand a tribrach rather than an anapaest. Here is the list of these doubtfully doubtful lines:—*Amph.* 266, 410, 666, 694, 759, 1034; *Asin.* 339; *Bacch.* 702; *Capt.* 608 (cf. infra); *Cas.* 262, 268, 385; *Curc.* 442; *Epid.* 277, 279; *Merc.* 251, 648; *Mil.* 810, 1001, 1140; *Most.* 808, 888, 920, 922, 926; *Pers.* 228, 592, 832; *Poen.* 604, 914; *Pseud.* 325, 436, 538, 641, 804, 979; *Rud.* 1003, 1116; *Stich.* 129; *Trin.* 806, 919; *Truc.* 266. This list can be reduced by a fifth if it is admitted that *enimvero* has not only frequently, but invariably, its second syllable short. (But v. infr. on *Capt.* 608.) In Plautus invariably (except in the bacchiac line *Pseud.* 1266) *non enim* is a dactyl, i.e. it was a dactyl in the spoken language of the time; may we not assert that *enimvero* was also a speech-rhythm? (Presumably *nil enim* was also dactylic; but at *Most.* 551, *nil enim*.)

Plautus allows himself greater freedom in cantica, and hence it is not surprising that *enim* iambic should be found in such passages. E.g. in *Poen.* 1181 (anap. dim.+cret. trim. ?), *Pseud.* 1266 (bacch. tetr.<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> These are the occurrences of *enim* in other than dialogue-verse:—

- (i) *Bacch.* 1080 //dedi, donavi, sed enim id raro (Anap. tetr. acat.)  
*Cas.* 889 enim iam magis adpropero, magi' iam// (Anap. tetr.)  
*Cas.* 728 // enimvero πράγματά μοι παρέχουσιν (Anap. tetr. acat.)  
*Trin.* 263? (text disputed)

i.e. there is no evidence of iambic *enim* in Anapaestic verse.

- (ii) *Cas.* 888 neque enim | dare sibi (Trib. + cretic)  
*Ep.* 94 at enim tu (Cretic monom.)  
*Poen.* 1181 // certo enim | quodquidem ad nos duas (Cret. trim.)  
*Pseud.* 1266 dari dapsilis, non // enim parce promi (Bacch. Tetram.)

We have next to consider half a dozen lines of dialogue metre in which it is proposed to regard *enim* as iambic:—

- (a) *Cas.* 372 dicam enim, mea mulsa; de istac // (troch. sept.)  
Here *enim* occurs 'in loc. Jacobs.,' and is iambic only if *enim* be not allowed. But why should it not be allowed?
- (b) *Men.* 251 illoc enim verbo esse me servom scio (iamb. sen.)  
— enim suspectum (Lindsay). Possibly:—illoc enimvero verbo [esse] me servom scio. Most of the line is wanting in A.
- (c) *Merc.* 159 quid <id> est igitur quod vis? dicam. // dice. at enim placide volo (troch. sept.)  
Again *enim* in loc. Jacobs.; cf. (a).
- (d) *Most.* 551 quid tute tecum? nihil enim. sed dic mihi (iamb. sen.)  
Again, in loc. Jacobs. But Lindsay cites this line as an example of the occasional appearance of iambic *enim* at a pause (*op. cit.* p. 199).
- (e) *Stich.* 737 foras egredere; sati' mihi pulchra es. — at enim pulcherruma (troch. sept.)

The division of the long line must surely occur at the change of speaker. The clue to the second half is the rhythm of *at enim*, which appears almost invariably to accent the first of the group. In this case the second half of the line is incomplete as it stands, and the simplest remedy is to accept *Acidalius'* at enim mihi pulcherruma.

- (f) *Capt.* 608 dum istic itidem vinciat. // immo enimvero, Hegio (troch. sept.)

In the second hemistich it is usual to scan *enimvero* in loco Jacobs. (Alternatively, it might be possible to let the ictus fall on the third syllable of *enimvero*, and to mark hiatus at the pause before the vocative.)

Of these six lines three, or possibly four, contain *enim* in loc. Jacobs., in one of which only (f) can the iambus be regarded as established. (b) is possibly corrupt. In (d) also the iambus is certain, but may be due to the pause.

\* \* \* \* \*

It remains to consider those lines where the text, and so the presence of *enim*, is disputed:—

- Amph.* 838 satis audacter. — ut pudicam // decet. †in† verbis probas P  
ei! non or immo *Lind.* <ut> in *Hey*  
decet enim *Lachm.*; if sound, *enim* is iambic in loc. Jacobs. (troch. sept.)
- Capt.* 500 quom/emi hosce homines: ubi quisque vident (anap.)  
enim hosce J
- Curc.* 438 quia nudiusquartus venimus in Cariam  
†venimus *Goetz-Sch.* in)enim *Uss.* venimūs, 'suspectum,' *Lind.*  
*Jacobsohn* accepts syll. anceps in fourth arsis. (*Quaest. Plaut.* p. 5)
- Men.* 94 ita istaec nimis lenta vincla sunt escaria  
ea enim fere lenta, *Nonius* 108 — 'neglegens citatio,' *Lind.*  
(Even if right, ea enim | ferē len|ta etc.)
- Merc.* 738 immo sic: sequestro mihi datast. — intellego.  
immō suspectum: fort. Enim *Lind.*  
immō sic séquestro etc. *Goetz-Sch.*
- Mil.* 429 quid metuis? enim ne nosmet perdiderimus uspiam  
<nos> nosmet *Reiz*
- Most.* 245 video enim te nihili pendere // (iamb. sept.)  
enim *cod. Varronis de L.L.* 9, 54: *om. cod., fort. recte* (*Lind.*)

- ib. 1002 modo eum vixisse aiebant. — vae capiti tuo  
eum] *enim* C
- Pers.* 116 quaeso animum advorte hoc. iam heri narraui tibi  
iam] *enim* iam CD
- Stich.* 562 qui seni illi concubinam dare dotatam noluit  
qui seni] quis *enim* CD
- Trin.* 263 neque eum sibi amicum volunt dici. (anap.)  
eum] *enim* eum CD
- Truc.* 313 iam quidem hercle ibo ad forum atque haec // (troch. sept.)  
iam *enim* exercere ibi etc. P

None of these lines offers reliable evidence for iambic *enim* in iambic or trochaic metres, except possibly *Amph.* 838. But here Lachmann's emendation is only an attempt to complete a defective line, nor is it as suitable in the context as Ussing's *id tu* (but it is difficult to see how *id tu* could come to be written *in*).

\* \* \* \* \*

We conclude that there is only one example (if *enim* be disallowed) in Terence of iambic *enim* in loco Jacobs., and therefore proportionately as much (or rather, as little) as in Plautus. That is, in dialogue-metres of Plautus; for iambic *enim* appears occasionally in bacchiacs and cretics in Plautus. As has been noted, of the six lines in dialogue-metres where it is proposed to read *enim* iambic, three—or possibly four—show *enim* in loc. Jacobs. (*Men.* 251 is possibly corrupt, and *Most.* 551 admits of another explanation.) The assumption is made in two of these lines that *enim* is not allowable. But why should it not be allowable in trochaic lines? It has been observed that in Iambic verse Plautus carefully avoids using a pyrrhic word (or word-ending) on whose final the ictus falls (Lindsay, *op. cit.* p. 82); alternatively expressed, in Iambic verse Plautus avoids a tribrach beginning with a pyrrhic, and the same is true of Terence (*ibid.* p. 84). But the case is different for trochaic lines.

*Enim* was an iambus in literary Latin, and we should expect to find it occasionally an iambus in Plautus and Terence. The question is, does the occasional evidence for *enim* in loc. Jacobs. offer any real support to Jacobsohn's Law (cf. *Quaestiones Plautinae metricae et grammaticae*: cf. also, Lindsay, *op. cit.* pp. 232-235)? Can we say that in dialogue-metres *enim* is an iambus 'in locis Jacobs.' rather than 'in locis aliis'? The answer to both questions is in the negative.

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## THE GREEK NOVELISTS.

### MISCELLANEA.

A WORD of apology may be due for the loose arrangement of this paper; but, as an orderly progress through the 600 odd pages of the Didot *Scriptores Erotici* was out of the question, I have simply taken a number of passages on which I had corrections to propose, appending to each a few lines of comment, and adding, where feasible, a selection of texts amenable, in my judgment, to the same or an analogous treatment. A reading cited with no mark of origin may be taken as the consenting manuscript tradition (trivialities excepted); an asterisk denotes a conjecture of my own.

Achilles Tatius II 2:—The Tyrians say there was no wine before they discovered it—οὐ τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμῖαν, οὐ τὸν τῆς Βιβλίας ἀμπέλου, οὐ τὸν Μάρωνος τὸν Θράκιον, οὐ \*Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης\*, οὐ τὸν Ἰκάρ[?]ου τὸν νησιώτην.  
 \*Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης\* \*: Χειον ἐκλευκον pap., Χῖον τὸν ἐκ Λακαίνης codd.

The passage presents an interesting though not certainly soluble problem. Prior to the discovery of the fourth-century papyrus (*Ox. Pap.* X pp. 135-142), darkness overhung Χῖον τὸν ἐκ Λακαίνης. Boden and Ast saw in Lacaena the Cyprian town Lacedaemon (vouched for by Stephanus of Byzantium), from which, according to the conjecture of Boden, Chian wine *optimae notae* may well have been exported, or near which, according to the conjecture of Ast, Chian vines may well have been cultivated with assiduity and success. Jacobs, citing Eustath. *Hysm. et Hysm.* I. 5, 7:—τὰ κύκλωθεν ἐκόσμει τοῦ φρέατος λίθος Χίος ὁ ἐκ Λακαίνης καὶ Θετταλὸς ἐτέρωθεν, paid that author the unique compliment of assuming that he meant something, and inferred the existence in Chios of a mountain Lacaena, 'planted with vines and not devoid of marble'; but, candid as always, admitted, *mirabile neque vini illius neque marmoris alibi vestigium reperi.* And there the matter has rested. The late Dr. Grenfell (*J.H.S.* xxxix) classed the passage first among the three unsolved difficulties set right by the papyrus, and Mr. Gaselee adopts ἐκλευκον without question as 'a great improvement.' But the reading is certainly not an improvement, great or small: the only point debatable is whether or not it is a serious deterioration. The intrinsic merits of ἐκλευκον are not obvious. If a colour was mentioned, then the mechanical principles of Achilles Tatius' style—for he has a style, though it is unluckily the man—would have led him to order his list thus:—οὐ τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμῖαν, οὐ <τὸν> Χῖον <τὸν> ἐκλευκον, οὐ τὸν τῆς Βιβλίας ἀμπέλου, οὐ τὸν Μάρωνος τὸν Θράκιον, οὐ τὸν Ἰκάρου τὸν νησιώτην. And why should this colour have been selected to characterize the vintages of an island famous, according to its most encyclopaedic son, as the birthplace of wine, neither white nor any shade of white, but black (Theopomp. fr. 264 G.-H. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι παρὰ Χίους πρώτους γενέσθαι τὸν μέλανα οἶνον)? Or, if ἐκλευκον is genuine, how comes it that its casual, and abnormal, depravation in our manuscripts has given birth to a quotation from the *Δαιταλῆς* of Aristophanes—a quotation available secondhand, and admirably calculated to adorn a wine-list drawn up for the sole purpose of demonstrating the catholicity of its author's reading? For Λάκαινα is neither the Cyprian Lacedaemon nor Jacobs' serviceable mountain, but a cylix (Ath. XII 527c ὥς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν. Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ



μᾶλλον Πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν, Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ Χίον ἐκ Λακαίνων, XI 484F, Hesych. s.v. Χίον ἐκ Λακαίνης). The fact is, so far as I can judge, that neither can ἐκλευκον have been corrupted into ἐκ Λακαίνης nor ἐκ Λακαίνης into ἐκλευκον: one reading arose by conscious emendation of the other. Which reading a copyist would have found the more difficult, and which emendation the easier, are, to my mind, questions that answer themselves. And by the circumstance that Χίον ἐκ Λακαίνης is a quotation there is also furnished an answer of sorts to the other question, not altogether trivial, why there is not one τὸν in front of Χίον and another after it.

There is much else in the chapter that deserves a discussion, but it cannot be attempted within the limits of this article: one passage, however, may be quoted, where, in common with the manuscripts, the papyrus is undoubtedly, or at least indubitably, at fault:—

ὁ δὲ πῶν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς βακχεύεται καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· Πόθεν, ὦ ξένε, σοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τὸ πορφυροῦν; πόθεν οὕτως εἶδες αἷμα γλυκὺ; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκείνο τὸ χαμαὶ ῥέον. . . καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἔφη· Τοῦτό ἐστιν ὀπώρας ὕδωρ, τοῦτό ἐστιν αἷμα βοτρυών. ἄγει πρὸς τὴν ἀμπελον ὁ θεὸς τὸν βουκόλον . . . Τοῦτο μὲν ἐστίν, ἔφη, τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ πηγὴ.

Hercher held the mistaken view *sententiam* οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκείνο τὸ χαμαὶ ῥέον *ineptissime ad sanguinem referri*: for the reference—no other is possible—is not inept but delirious. And since, with less excuse than Bentley, he affected what Professor Housman calls the worst habits of deity, he excised the offending words and printed them, along with τοῦτό ἐστιν αἷμα βοτρυών, in Teubner's smallest type at the foot of his page. But surely the herdsman demanded:—πόθεν σοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τὸ πορφυροῦν; πόθεν οὕτως εἶδες νᾶμα\* γλυκὺ; The god replied:—τοῦτό ἐστιν ὀπώρας ὕδωρ, τοῦτό ἐστι νᾶμα\* βοτρυών. Then, in face of the vine, he repeats his annunciation:—τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο δὲ—not τὸ αἷμα, but the synonym of τὸ νᾶμα.<sup>1</sup> The natural miswriting of ἐστὶ νᾶμα as ἐστὶν αἷμα<sup>2</sup> threw question and answer out of gear, until the wrong correspondence was restored by an observant copyist; who appears, it must be granted, to have satisfied the after-world apart from Hercher. The propriety of νᾶμα is above suspicion, but one may perhaps quote Philostr. *ep.* 45 τὰς ἀπυρνήτους ῥόας Ἐρυθραὶ κηπεύουσιν οἰνοχοοῦσας νᾶμα πότιμον, ὥσπερ τῶν βοτρυών οἱ καλῶς πράττοντες: the two time-honoured metaphors are conjoined at Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II § 32 αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον . . . εὐφροσύνης ἄγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νᾶμα.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nine chapters later, the author extends his study of origins to purple, and I excerpt a sentence:—

Ach. Tat. II 11:—συνῆκεν οὖν τοῦ κόχλου τὴν φύσιν ὁ ποιμήν, ὅτι φάρμακον ἔχει κάλλους <ἐμ>πεφυτευμένον, καὶ λαβὼν μαλλὸν ἐρίου καθήκεν εἰς τὸν χηραμνὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐρίον, ζητῶν τοῦ κόχλου τὰ μυστήρια· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν γένυν τοῦ κυνὸς ἡμάσσετο, καὶ τότε τὴν μήκωνα τῆς πορφύρας ἐδιδάσκετο.

<ἐμ>πεφ. Jacobs: πεφ. || μήκωνα\*: εἰκόνα.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Char. I 11 πηγὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι πολλοῦ καὶ καθαροῦ νάματος—a passage which might perhaps be used for the correction of IV 2:—τὴν γὰρ πηγὴν ἀνείρηκα τοῦ μεγάλου νάματος (\*: αἵματος). In any case, Reiske's λήματος is wrong.

<sup>2</sup> These trifling misadventures with final and initial consonants are common enough in the text of the *Erotici*. More curious than most is,

possibly, Ach. Tat. IV 2:—κεφαλὴ περιφερής, οὐ σμικρά· ἐγγὺς ἔππου παρειά. Achilles Tatius, in a *παρέκβασις* featuring the river-horse, would, if I read him aright, have rejected οὐ μικρά as frigid, οὐ Σμικρά as Ogygian; and I think the critic who regularized the concord *κεφαλὴ* . . . οὐ σμικρόν would have done better with:—κεφαλὴ περιφερής· οὐ σμικρόν\*. ἐγγὺς ἔππου παρειά.

Εἰκόνα being inexplicable whether τῆς πορφύρας is the creature or its product (it happens to be the former), Jacobs proposed ἰχώρα; Hercher οἶκον, with a vain reference to Ael. N.A. VI 50 οἶκος μυρμήκων; and Mr. Knox οἰκίαν: but the apices would seem to point directly to μήκωνα—the dye-bladder of the *purpura*, feminine also in Hicesius (ap. Ath. 87E τροφιμώτεραι δὲ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπολανστικώτεραι αἱ τῆς πορφύρας μήκωνες). I have also reduced to a comma the colon after ἡμάσσετο, which effaces the author's little preciosity—*varios didicit mentiri lana colores*—by making the apparent subject of ἐδιδάσκετο, not the wool, though, as Jungermann saw, it was introduced *ad hoc*, but the shepherd. The corruption might pass without comment, but I add an example or two of the interchange of ο and ω.

In the new Liddell and Scott, ἀντιπιστεύω is modestly lodged between ἀντιπίπτω and the more impressive ἀντιπιφάσκω, its credentials being

Chariton II 11 fin.:—πίστευε μὲν οὖν Διονυσίου τῷ τρόπῳ· χρηστὸς γάρ ἐστιν. ἐξορκιῷ δ' ὅμως αὐτόν, καὶ δεσπότης ᾗ· δεῖ πάντα ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς πράττειν. καὶ σύ, τέκνον, ὅμως ἀντιπίστευσον.

But it is evident that ὅμως is almost the worst adverb available, and ἀντι . . . quite the worst prepositional prefix, with the possible exception of προ . . .: Hercher, therefore, wrote καὶ σύ, τέκνον, ὅπως μ' ἀντενποιήσεις. But Plangon, a disinterested creature, said merely:—

καὶ σύ, τέκνον, ὁ μὲν ὁ σ α ν τ ι \* πίστευσον.

The case is clear, again, at Char. VIII 4:—εἰμὶ γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸν κοινὸν νιόν, ὃν παρακατατίθηναι σοι. . . μὴ λάβῃ δὲ πείραν μητρυνῆς· ἔχεις οὐ μόνον νιδὸν ἀλλὰ θυγατέρα· ἀρκεῖ σοι δύο τέκνα. ὦν γάμον ζεύξον, ὅταν ἀνήρ γένηται κτέ.

ὦν\* : ὢν cod., ὢν γάμῳ Reiske, Hercher.

For, as the two children were not ὁμογάστριοι, this was the typical domestic arrangement, but for the miscarriage of which in the case of Clitophon the occasion for this paper would scarcely have arisen (Ach. Tat. I 3 εἰδέρσεν οὖν τῷ πατρὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας, ἐξ ἧς ἀδελφὴ μοι Καλλιγόνῃ γίνεται. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τῷ πατρὶ συνάψαι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς γάμῳ κτέ.). For the phrase in Chariton, cf. VIII 7 τὸν γάμον ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἐξενξε. Reiske's γάμῳ leaves the relative as repugnant to all human modes of speech as it is at Ach. Tat. I 12, which should be read approximately:—ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὸν σὸν ἐκάθισεν, ὃ Κλεινία, <ὁ νεανίας>\*· ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἡλυνεν ἡρέμα κτέ.

Heliodorus V 13 is also easily corrigible:—ὥς δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ παρεγένοντο . . . καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τάχιστα τέθυτο, [καὶ] πρὸς βραχὺ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὁ Καλάσιρις ἐπιθεωρήσας . . . ἐπιβάλλει τῷ χεῖρε τοῖς βωμοῖς κτέ.

τέθυτο\* : τε οὕτω || καὶ om. Bas.

Bekker altered τάχιστα into ἐσφαγίστο, Coraës for once producing an impossible remedy: a typical parallel to the corruption is Procop. *anecd.* xxvi 7 ἐκάCτΩ codd. = ἐκάCτO Kraseninnikov. Another specimen of his favourite tense may as well be restored to the author at VII 6:—

οὐ μὴν ὑπέστη γε ἐκείνος τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην κίνησιν τραπεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἔβη εἰς τὸ εἰσφρῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ προθυμούμενος.

This is beyond question the genuine tradition: the omission of the first εἰς τὸ is a naïve conjecture, damned alike by the uncompounded ἔβη, which is no part of the author's vocabulary, and by the hiatus with εἰσφρῆσαι. Between εἰσφρῆσαι itself (intransitive in Heliodorus) and εἰς, none exists: for, from the opening of the *Aethiopica* to their ever-receding close, final αἰ is treated for all purposes as a

homophone of ε. The truth can only be:—ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐβ<εβ>ίαστο\*,<sup>1</sup> εἰσφρῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ προθυμούμενος. The verb, the tense, and the haplography may all dispense with parallels. For the interchange of εἰ and α, see Bast CP. 706, and write at Char. VI 2:—τοῦτο ἴσως ἀληθές ἐστιν ὃ λέγεις, ὅτι θεῶν τίς ἐστιν ἡ γυνή· . . . πλὴν οὐχ ὁ μολογεῖ, προσποιεῖται δὲ Ἑλληνὶς εἶναι Συρακοσία (\*: ὁμολογα. προσποιεῖται cod., edd.).

\* \* \* \* \*

Ach. Tat. III 7:—ποδῆρης ὁ χιτῶν, λευκὸς ὁ χιτῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕφασμα λεπτόν, ἀραχνίων εἰκοὺς πλοκῇ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν προβατείων τριχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πτηνῶν, οἷον ἀπὸ δένδρων ἔλκουνται νήματα γυναῖκες ὑφαίνουσιν Ἰνδαί.

To the first translators, della Croce and Coccio, τῶν πτηνῶν bore the plain and well-attested sense, 'of the birds'; *quo nihil absurdius*, says Jacobs with unaccustomed asperity. To Salmasius, after a century of progress, it appeared rather to mean 'of the butterflies'—silkworms so designated by an intelligent anticipation of the course of nature. This gave Jacobs pause, though he too believed the *ἔρια* to be silk; and he conjectured, but did not write:—τῶν ἐρίων τῶν Σηρικῶν, ὧν ἀπὸ δένδρων κτέ. Hercher conjectured, and therefore wrote, τῶν ἐρίων τῶν λεπτοῖνων, pronouncing οἷον corrupt, but not specifying in what regard οἷον (sc. ὕφασμα) . . . γυναῖκες ὑφαίνουσιν Ἰνδαί falls short of the most elevated standards. Mr. Gaselee, who leans to Salmasius, holds 'the meaning of this obscure sentence' to be:—'Not like that woven of the hair of sheep but of the produce of that winged insect which Indian women spin into thread from trees and weave into silk.' If I may hazard my own contribution, the material so much superior to sheep's hair was, I imagine, neither bird's wool nor butterfly's wool, but bivalve's wool, the byssus of the *pinna*, by some called *squamosa* and by others *nobilis*; the word read by the copyist as τῶν πτηνῶν was certainly πῖνων; but the hand of Achilles Tatius was more probably:—

κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐρίων τῶν πιν<πιν>ων\* κτέ.

I leave comment to the more learned pen of Casaubon (*Animadv. in Ath. Col.* 172 fin.):—'Illius tamen beatissimus pater Basilius meminit. . . Ita enim scribit concione in Hexaëmeron septima: πόθεν τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔριον αἱ πίνναι τρέφουσιν, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθοβάφων ἐμμήσατο, et in Oratione ad Divites: ὅταν σπουδάζηται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐκ θαλάττης ἄνθη, ἡ κόχλος ἢ τε πίννα, ὑπὲρ τὸ ἐκ τῶν προβάτων ἔριον. . . Lanam vocat et Procopius cuius extat super hoc insignis locus in commentario de Iustiniani fabricis. Χλαμύς, inquit, ἐξ ἐρίων πεποιημένη, οὐχ οἷα τῶν προβάτων ἐκπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θαλάσσης συνειλεγμένων· πίννους τὰ ζῶα καλεῖν νενομίσκασιν ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν ἐρίων ἔκφυσις γίνεται.' The citation from Procopius is in the *de aediff.* III. 1: those from Basil I have not attempted to verify.—The reference of the last clause is presumably to the δένδρα ἐριοφόρα (the Indian cotton-plant) of Theophrastus, from the wool of which τὰς σινδόνας ὑφαίνουσι, τὰς μὲν εὐτελεῖς τὰς δὲ πολυτελεστάτας (*HP.* IV 7, 7: cf. Strab. XVI 1, 21; Hdt. III 106 Baehr).

<sup>1</sup> As to the augment, present here and absent in *τέθυτο*, it is necessarily omitted in Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus after a long vowel or diphthong: otherwise, it is employed, or not, at pleasure. Hence the need for the following alterations:—Ach. Tat. I 1 θαλάσση [ἐ]γέγραπτο\*, VII 4 μου [ἐ]λέλυτο\*, Heliod. I 15 ταύτη [ἐ]κέκρητο\*, and probably Char. VII 1 πάνυ [ἐ]πεπείσμη, though hiatus is allowed sparingly after *v*. The tense should be restored at Ach. Tat. II 10 ἀπέσπαστο (\*: ἀπεσπάτο MV) μὲν ἡ Κλειώ, ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ κατελέ-

λειπτο, where the vulgate ἀπεσπασθή has no authority worth the name; at VII 6 παρεσκευάσμη (\*: παρεσκευασμένη); probably at Heliod. II 16 ἐπηκράατο (\*: ἐπηκροῶτο); and at VIII 9 παρεδέδοτο (\*: παραδίδονται) . . . καὶ ἐνεβέβλητο; not, however, at V 14 γραφῇ γὰρ ἔξεστο καὶ εἰς μίμημα ζῶων ἐκοιλάνετο (ἐκεκοιλάντο H. Richards). Compare, *inter alia*, I 28 τὸ δὲ ἦν οὐ φύσεως ἔργον . . . ἀλλὰ τέχνης ληστρικῆς . . . καὶ χειρῶν Ἀλγυπτίων δρυγμα, πρὸς σὺλων φυλακὴν περιέργως κοιλαινόμενον. ἐργαστο δὲ ᾧδε πως κτέ.

The familiar double uncial corruption is of a type infrequent in the text of the Erotici: still, here and there it may be legitimately postulated. So, possibly, at Ach. Tat. VII 11:—

τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲν' εἴσα τὸ παράπαν, οὔτε ξένον οὔτε πολίτην, ἦκειν εἰς ὁμιλίαν. καὶ ὦν λέγεις καὶ ὦν <\*> σε δεῖ παθεῖν, ἂν συκοφάντης ἀλψς.  
οὐδέν' εἴσα\*: οὐδὲ εἶδον || lac.\*

H. Richards proposed:—ἦκειν <βουλόμενον> εἰς ὁμιλίαν. *Casta est quam nemo rogavit*, but the reason is not usually emphasized: nor, alas, could all the legal machinery of Ephesus have wrung that admission from Melite; whose self-respect I preserve by assuming a confusion between ΕΙΑC and ΕΙΔO.—That something is lost after the second καὶ ὦν seems much too obvious for discussion.

Again, Ach. Tat. VII 2 runs:—καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ζητῶν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπ' ἐμὲ τοῦ λόγου τέχνης, ὡς ἂν πυθοίμην τί εἴη παθόν. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐφρόντιζον ὦν κατὰ νοῦν εἶχον, ὁ δὲ ὥμωξεν ὀλίγον. ἄλλος δέ τις κτέ.

'Some MSS. here follow with κατὰ νοῦν εἶχον· ὁ δὲ, but it is better omitted,' says Mr. Gaselee in a footnote to ὦν; and with Hirschig and Hercher he omits the words. But their omission rests on the authority of a solitary and insignificant Paris codex; they are an integral part of both the streams of tradition (represented for practical purposes by the Vaticanus and Monacensis); and they are susceptible of at least specious emendation:—

ἐφρόντιζον ὦν κατὰ νοῦν εἶχον, ὁ δὲ ὥμωξεν ἑαυτόν\*.

See below (VII 9)—the reference is to this incident:—τῶν δεσμοτῶν τις ὁδυρόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμφορὰν, and for the interchange of ΕΑΥΤ... and ΟΛΙΓ... compare Paus. VIII 16:—οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχούσα (a self-closing door) συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης, corrected by J. E. B. Mayor to δι' ἑαυτῆς.

Char. II 2:—εἰσελθούσαι δὲ ἡλειψάν τε καὶ ἀπέσμηξαν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἀποδυσάμενης κατεπλάγησαν. ὥστε ἐνδεδυμένης αὐτῆς θαυμάζουσαι τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς θείον, ἀπρόσωπον ἔδοξαν <τᾶνδον> ἰδοῦσαι· ὁ χρῶς γὰρ ἔστειλψε κτέ.  
θείον, ἀπρόσωπον\*: θείον πρόσωπον || <>\*.

My correction and supplement are drawn primarily from the Charmides (154D):—Τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ νεανίσκος, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες; οὐκ εὐπρόσωπος; Ὑπερφνῶς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Οὗτος μέντοι, ἔφη, εἰ ἐθέλοι ἀποδύναί, δόξει σοι ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι· οὕτως τὸ εἶδος πάγκαλός ἐστιν, and secondarily from the plagiarism of Aristaenetus (I 3):—ἦ τις καίπερ ὑπερφνῶς εὐπρόσωπος οὔσα, ὅμως, ὅταν ἀπεκδύηται, δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἐνδον ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι δοκεῖ (cf. Philostr. *ep.* 65 Boiss. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀποδύσῃ, ἀστράπτειν τὰ ἐνδον οἶμαι). The vulgate is, of course, incomprehensible; and the conjectures of Abresch and Hirschig may as well be left in peace. Few errors are more common than the loss of *alpha privativum* (where it escapes transfiguration into εὐ...); and rather than acquiesce in Coraës' εἰρωνικῶς τοῦτο at Heliod. IV 16 (καίπερ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ λαβὼν ἐπέθισα καὶ ὕδατος ἀπέσπεισα, θαυμάζουσι μὲν ἑφέκεσαν τὸ πολυτελὲς τῶν ἐμῶν θυμάτων), I should add ἀπολύτελες\* as a third ἀπαξ εἰρημένον to the ἀπρόμαχος of IV 18 and the ἀκάτοπτος of VI 14.

As regards <τᾶνδον>, there can be few authors in whom such a measure need prick the conscience less. For the text of *Chaereas and Callirrhoe* is pockpitted with passages such as I 3 ἰκέτευεν εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ <πάθους>. ὁ δὲ κτέ., ib. 4 ἤπτετο λοιπὸν ἐνεργεστέρας κατασκευῆς <στρατηγῆσας> τι τοιούτων· ἦν αὐτῷ κτέ., ib. 9 Καλλιρρόη δὲ αὐτῷ προσπειοῦσα <τὰς χεῖρας ὥρεγε>\*, βουλομένη δεηθῆναι, ib. 12 δυσδιάθετον δὲ ἀπέβαινε <τὸ φορτίον>\*, ib. κοιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐνύπνιον εἶδε <.....>\*



κεκλημένους τὰς θύρας. ἔδοξεν οὖν κτέ. (the relics of some such dream as that of Clitophon at Ach. Tat. IV 1:—ἐδόκουν γὰρ τῇ παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ ναδν 'Αφροδίτης ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἔνδον εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ: ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγενόμην προσευξόμενος, κλεισθῆναι τὰς θύρας), ib. 13 ἐκέλευε περιμένειν αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ δεσπότου πρῶτον <γενησόμενον>, II 9 πασῶν ἀσεβ<εστ>άτη, μ>\*αἰνῇ καὶ Μηδείας λαμβάνεις λογισμούς (ἀσεβαῖν καὶ cod., ἀσεβεστάτη, καὶ Reiske), III 1 οὐδὲ Καλλιρρόη τοῦτο ἤκουσεν ἀδακρυτί. τοσαύτη <...>\* ἦν ὥστε κακείνῃ Διονύσιον ἔκλαιε (the hiatus shows that the lacuna should be marked after, not before, τοσαύτη), ib. 3 τότε οὖν ἡξίωσε Χαιρέας αὐτὸς <εἰσελθεῖν>, IV 1 παραγυμνοῦσα τοὺς βραχίονας <καὶ τοὺς πόδας> ὑπὲρ τὴν Λευκώλεον καὶ Καλλίσφυρον ἐφαίνετο τὰς Ὀμήρου, V 2 <ὑφάψαντος σοῦ τὸ πῦρ>\* ἐγὼ καίομαι (the alteration κρίνομαι being more than futile), ib. 6 καμὲ καὶ <τὴν τῆσδε>\* σφωροσύνην καὶ τοὺς πάντων γάμους, VI 3 ὡς ἀγωνιῶ μὴ τινα ἐπιβουλήν <...>. 'Επιβουλήν, > εἶπε βασιλεὺς, καὶ μεγίστην, ib. ἐν θήρῃ δὲ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἢ τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ πυρός (both defective and corrupt), VII 5 ἐπιστάσα δὲ Ῥοδογόνῃ, Ζωπύρου μὲν θυγάτηρ γυνὴ δὲ Μεγαβύζου, καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς Περσῶν ἀρίστων· αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ Καλλιρρόη ἀπαντήσασα πρώτῃ Περσίδων ὅτε εἰς Βαβυλῶνα εἰσῆι· <...>. ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος κτέ., ib. καὶ βασιλεὺς <μὲν ἡπείγετο φεύγων, βασιλεὺς>\* δὲ ἔφιππος διώκων, VIII 7 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα τῶν διηγημάτων ἦδη καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπίσταται, καὶ γὰρ τὸν γάμον ὧμον αὐτὸς ἐξευξεν. <πῶς δὲ ἔμπεσὼν διὰ>\* τὴν τῶν ἀντιμνηστευομένων ἐπιβουλήν εἰς ψευδῇ ζηλοτυπίαν ἀκαίρως ἐπληξας τὴν γυναῖκα πάντες ἔγνωμεν. The list, though far from complete, is perhaps lengthy enough, but one or two cases may deserve a word of comment.

Char. IV 7:—μακαρίζομενος δὲ Διονύσιος ἐλυπέτο καὶ δειλότερον αὐτὸν ἐποίει τῆς εὐτυχίας τὸ μέγεθος. \* \* γὰρ πεπαιδευμένος ἐνεθυμείτο ὅτι φιλόκαινός ἐστιν ὁ Ἔρως. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταὶ τε καὶ <πλ>άσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ, τὰ κουφότατα καὶ στήναι μὴ θέλοντα.

The condition of the archetype leaps to the eyes. The void before γάρ Cobet filled with αἶτε, Hercher with οἶα, H. Richards with ὡς; but Chariton's idiom is

<ἀν>ρ>\* γὰρ πεπαιδευμένος, ἐνεθυμείτο κτέ.

Cf. I 1:—ἀνὴρ δὲ φιλόπατρις, Ἑρμοκράτης ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, II 1 ἀνὴρ γὰρ βασιλικός, διαφέρων ἀξιώματι... ἀπηξίου κοίτην θεραπαίνιδος, III 2 Διονύσιος δέ, ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος, κατέλιπτο μὲν κτέ., ib. 3 Θήρων δὲ ἐμνημόνευεν ἑαυτοῦ, πανοῦργος ἄνθρωπος, ib. 4 Ἑρμοκράτης δὲ ἔφη, στρατηγικὸς ἀνὴρ κτέ. For the second sentence Dorville does what he can with:—*duo rerum omnium levissima, et stare atque reprimi negantia, sagittas et ignem*. But the universe supplies better types of lightness and mobility. Why omit the painters, duly remembered at III 8 οἷον οὔτε ζωγράφος ἔγραψεν οὔτε πλάστης ἔπλασεν οὔτε ποιητὴς ἰστόρηκε μέχρι νῦν? Above all, why omit the twin emblems of volatility worn by all Cupids<sup>1</sup> in verse or stone or colour? The undamaged archetype must have read approximately:—

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταὶ τε καὶ πλάσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ, <ζωγραφοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ φύον>\* τα κουφότατα καὶ στήναι μὴ δυνάμενα.

JOHN JACKSON.

CALDBECK, CUMBERLAND.

<sup>1</sup> When in full feather, naturally; as at Ach. Tat. I 1: Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἡρτητο <τὴν> φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ, Eust. H. et H. II 11 ἔπλα φέρει κατ' ἀνδρῶν, πῦρ κατὰ γυναικῶν, τόξα κατὰ θηρῶν, κατὰ πτηνῶν τὸ πτερόν,

etc. For passages like Ach. Tat. II 4, ὅρως αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα ὡς ἐστὶ στρατιωτικόν· τόξα καὶ φαρέτρα καὶ βέλη καὶ πῦρ, obviously do not come into the count.

(To be continued.)

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**American Journal of Philology.** LV. 1. January-March, 1934.

E. M. Sandford, *Quotations from Lucan*. Using examples from history, ethics, science, and general literature, suggests that most of the quotations were made at first hand and not from a *florilegium*. L. K. Born, *The Perfect Prince According to the Latin Panegyrists*. Argues that the Panegyric was cultivated largely as a means of inculcating certain cardinal virtues in the government of the person addressed. G. Boas, *Presuppositions of Aristotle's Metaphysics*. Cites nineteen instances of unproved premises under the headings metaphysical, epistemological and evaluative. H. C. Nutting, *Notes on Lucan; Second Group*. Deals with seven *crucies*: (1) I. 531, read *tenso-aere* as an ablative absolute, (2) II. 201 read *tulit* (for *fuit*) and translate 'brought about,' (3) III. 595-6, place a strong stop after *crastina* and take *componere* as an historical infinitive, (4) IV. 813 understand *meritae* in the sense of *emeritae*, (5) VI. 196, accept Hosius' *torta* (for *portae*), (6) VII. 325, translate 'count' it a sin to waste time in killing any of the common herd, (7) VIII. 339 ff., read *qui te* for *te quem*. F. R. B. Godolphin, *The Unity of Certain Elegies of Propertius*. Maintains that I. 8 and 15 and II. 24 and 28 should not be divided, as they belong to a 'subjective dramatic' type which admits lapse of time. W. J. Oates, *A Note on Cato De Agri Cultura LVI*. Seeks to show that the *confediti* received a daily ration of four or five pounds of bread. H. H. Bendes, *English Strawberry*. Derives the name from the fact that the plant grows in hayfields. D. M. Robathan, *The Basilica Argentaria*. Holds that this building was a shop for the sale of silver goods. F. Mezger, *Latin Nītere-Renidere-Nidor*. Argues that the last two are not connected with the first, but derived from the root of an adjective *\*nidus* 'bright.' T. Frank, *An Emendation of Octius in Cic. Ad Att. 12, 46, 1*. Proposes *ωορίος* 'must be kept in subjection.'

**Athenaeum.** XI. Vol. II.

P. Treves examines the collection by De Falco of the supposed fragments of the writings of Demades the orator. Of his work, according to Cicero (*Brutus* 9. 36), nothing has survived. Indeed he is only a name. But for many centuries the *horror vacui* has led to his being credited with many sayings and proverbs. Most of these ascriptions the author rejects. Even speeches were invented for him as the known rival and opponent of Demosthenes. The man Demades was soon forgotten, and seems to have deserved his fate. He was a timid opportunist, though he saved his country from some of the worst severities inflicted by Macedonia. With some diffidence E. Bolaffi selects some passages, two from *Sat. I*, one from the *Ars Poetica*, and others, to show probable traces of Platonic thought influencing Horace, in passages in which he finds a correspondence which shows a closer connection with Plato than with Aristotle, whose influence on Horace is generally accepted. B. however admits that both in his conceptions of poetry and philosophy Horace was an eclectic.

In examining the many versions of a letter to Claudius on magico-medical matters, A. Momigliano differs on one point from Cumont, the principal editor of the letter. He does not identify the letter with a treatise, known to Pliny, called the *Liber Vulturis*. The Aretas cited by Lydus cannot be identified with a sheikh Aretas who probably died before 40 B.C. Confusion reigns in the text of another letter said

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to be addressed to Antiochus. M. attributes this to the fact that one medical writer, Aristogenes, lived in Taxos, another in Cnidus, while the Cnidian was in the service of Antigonus. Further confusion was caused by a clerical error—Antiochus for Antigonus. The latter he identifies with A. Gonatas.

### Vol. III.

G. Patroni thinks the confusion of the Mycene-Minoan *vaós* with the Hellenic still exists, though the two can be shown to be distinct. The difference between the two things—one a real shrine, tabernacle or external altar, the other a 'templum,' such as those of the classical age, the Etruscan, Egyptian or Christian—is important for the dating of the Homeric poems. After a careful account of the seven *vaói* in Homer, P. concludes that three are of the archaic type, i.e. external altars, two are *sacelli* of the Minoan type, two are non-Hellenic (Asiatic), and there are none of the classical Hellenic type.

C. Albizzati questions the judgment of Renaissance scholars and others on the interpolations in the text of Plautus, and discusses the so-called 'psalm' to Astarte. The first three lines were supplied as a suture to the following seventeen, which he regards as authentically ancient. The passage occurs after the 5th scene of Act 4 of the *Mercator*. In support of his view he cites parallels from Assyrian texts and monuments. He doubts whether even the most learned of the Renaissance scholars could, with the knowledge then available, and without the now rediscovered tradition, have invented the attributes of the goddess set out in the hymn. V. Groh, in spite of Livy's assertion (XXII. 57, 6) '*hostiae humanae minime Romanum sacrum*,' backed by Wissowa's authority, maintains that human ritual sacrifices were known among the Romans, both actual and vicarious or symbolical. As evidence of the former he cites the penalty inflicted on a guilty Vestal, the sacrifice of the new-born, as being either abnormal or born *infausti*, the *devotiones*, and more doubtfully the deaths of 300 senators and nobles at Perusia. He discusses some of the well-known problems of symbolical sacrifices, not involving death, which reduced a citizen to a religious or moral nullity.

### Vol. IV.

A. Passerini writes at length on the interactions of social and political movements in Greece and Rome. Changes in external policy were in many Greek cities due to internal politics. Thus Athens, befriending exiled democrats, naturally gained their allegiance, and through them that of their native place, in return for the help given in repatriation and in annexation of enemy property. Thus Athens became the Mother-state in a kind of 'imperial' connection. P. then asks whether such a form of imperialism (though oligarchical) came about in Rome, and whether the Roman intervention in Greece actually ended the first beginnings of some form of socialism. There would seem to be as much divergence of view on this point as there was in the fluctuations of political feeling in Rome.

A. Momigliano seeks out a basis common to both the expeditions against Scythia, that of Philip of Macedonia and of Darius. The first was due to the inevitable struggle for the primacy on the coast of the Black Sea between Macedonia and the Greek cities Byzantium and Athens in the offing. The same conditions led to the second expedition. But the initial collaboration of Greece and Macedonia broke down when in the course of conquest (as in the region of the Danube) Macedonia threatened the safety of the Greek colonies, especially those of the Propontis, even Athens feeling the effects. In notes on Cornelius Nepos, E. Malcovati examines several passages in the *Vitae*, proposing emendations or rejecting others which seem to him to violate the rhythm and metre usual in this author.

**Classical Philology.** XXIX. 3. July, 1934.

G. M. Calhoun, *Classes and Masses in Homer* (I): the Homeric poems show no indication of well-defined social classes or of the existence of a nobility of birth halfway between king and commons. The specific words for distinctions based on birth (εὐγενής, γενναῖος, etc.), which are common later, are absent, and the words which later become quasi-technical terms for social classes (ἀγαθός, κακός, etc.) are in Homer descriptive of the attributes of individuals. J. A. O. Larsen, *The Position of Provincial Assemblies in the Government and Society of the Late Roman Empire*: examines, in the light of the Theodosian Code, the Edict of Honorius, and other evidence, the use made of provincial assemblies by the Emperors, their composition and membership and their place in social organization. Lily R. Taylor, *Varro's 'De Gente Populi Romani'*: accepts 43 B.C. (from Arnob., *c. gent.* 5. 8) as the date of composition and finds in the fragments indications of a topical motive, especially Varro's interest in the apotheosis of legendary kings (handled in the rationalizing manner of Euhemerus), which suggests an attempt to find precedents for Caesar's deification: so V.'s work is to be included among the 'propaganda-literature' issued by Octavian's supporters—though before this time V. had been a Pompeian—and may explain his pardon. C. M. Bowra, *Simonides and Scopas*: examines the *skolion* quoted by Plato and finds that it expresses ethical and political notions current in contemporary Athens. Blanche B. Boyer, *Traces of an Insular Tradition in the Ancient Scholia of Juvenal*: finds evidence for an insular archetype of the scholia of Pith., Sangall. and Sched. Arov. (behind their immediate Carolingian archetype) in confusions of letters, peculiarities of spelling, misinterpreted abbreviations and the survival of some insular symbols. H. A. Sanders, *Codices Librarium*: the phrase used by Ascon. of the pyre of Clodius probably refers to wax-tablet (or perhaps papyrus) notebooks of senate-clerks preserved in the curia, not to parchment books, which would have made it less, not more, inflammable. T. R. S. Broughton, *Stratoniceia and Aristonicus*: confirms Niese's view that the city in which A. took refuge was S. on the Caicus in Lydia, not S. in Caria. C. F. Edson, *The Personal Appearance of Antigonus Gonatas*: holds that Seneca, *de Ira* 3. 22-3, refers to Gonatas and explains Seneca's error in making Alexander his grandson. T. J. Haarhoff on Catullus 44. 21 takes *vocat* as a form of *vocavit*. The Editor and George Norlin contribute appreciations of the late Paul Shorey, editor of *C.P.* for twenty-five years.

**Hermathena.** XLVIII. 1933.

W. F. Trench, *Mimesis in Aristotle's Poetics*. In addition to its ordinary meaning, 'imitation', μίμησις had become a technical term for works of art meaning (1) imitation of the abstract real, (2) or, on the other hand, representation of the phenomenal, through art, each being the 'concretising' of the artist's experience, whether vision or mere observation. So the word acquired for Aristotle the meaning 'creative form', which he primarily conceived of as the creation of beautiful objects upon a mathematical ground. H. M. Hornsby, *The Cynicism of Peregrinus Proteus*. The Cynics being the most purely deistic sect of antiquity, it comes as a surprise that Peregrinus should be described as a Cynic without any suggestion that his behaviour at Olympia was repudiated by his fellows. There are three possible explanations: (1) There was in Cynicism a mystical strain and it was this tendency which was prominent in Peregrinus. (2) P. was no common Cynic but tinged with Neo-Pythagoreanism. (3) Even the Cynic school had by the middle of the second century made terms with the superstition of the age. After an examination of each hypothesis H. holds that (3) is the true explanation, the probability being that P. was influenced by the Christian martyrdoms of the period. J. Tate, *Plato and Didacticism*. It is the prose-content of poetry which Plato wished to control in his ideal state. Admirers of

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Homer and Hesiod who averred that the poets were divinely wise teachers were virtually denying the claims of reason in the interests of 'exclusive intuitionism'. The youthful Plato was by nature and environment an intuitionist; in his maturity he reacted strongly against 'the cloudy divinationism of mere opinion', his reaction being fortified by his belief in dialectic as the sole and sufficient instrument for the discovery of truth. W. S. Maguinness, *Locutions and Formulae of the Latin Panegyrists*, deals with the orators' methods of expression, the various devices of language in which their encomia find utterance, and the various tricks of rhetoric handed on from one to the other. H. W. Parke, *The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy*. Discussing Pausanias V. 13, 4 ff. P. argues, (1) The shoulder-blade there referred to is to be identified with the 'ivory shoulder' of Pelops, (2) what purported to be the other bones of Pelops were preserved near Pisa, but the supposed shoulder-blade at Olympia, having been sent thither by the Delphic oracle when found in the sea by a fisherman, Damarmenus, (3) the association of Pelops' bones with Troy was a late accretion, invented originally at Delphi, and is ultimately derived from a fisherman's catch containing a cetacean's scapula! J. G. Smyly contributes *Notes on Greek MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*; M. Esposito, *Notes on Latin literature and learning in mediaeval Ireland*. D. L. Graham, *Notes on two passages of Lucan's Pharsalia*, argues that in *Phars.* 5, 554 'ardea sublimis pinnae confisa natanti' Lucan has confused the characteristics of the heron and the shear-water, the latter being accustomed to dive with outspread wings and to rise with wings still extended. In vii 43, G. for 'gemitus edere dolorem' would read 'gemitu sedere dolores'; cf. Sil. Italic. X, 624 his dictis sedere minae.

**Mnemosyne.** Third series. I. 2. (1933-4).

R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Una Testa in Terracotta dei Musei di Berlino*, discusses the date to be assigned to a female head, preserved in the Museum of Berlin (No. 551 of the terracottas). It is of unknown provenance, but a study of the style and technique, as here set forth in full detail, has led B. to assign it to the region of S. Etruria-Latium-Campania and to date it c. 25 B.C. The head shows none of the crude realism of Roman republican art; midway between realism and classicism it exhibits a lively sensibility for form. This style, to which the Roman environment was particularly favourable, could not have attained consistency except under the influence of a strong artistic personality, Pasiteles, as B. thinks. 'Impressionism' began with Lysippus, but in the middle of the second century B.C. there was a reaction to classicism. In Italy however this reaction did not arise, for Hellenistic impressionism came into contact with a similar tendency in native art, which had by this time developed a uniform style. 'In the Roman style we find the full and legitimate continuity of Hellenistic art'. A. G. Roos, *Bemerkungen zu einer griechischen Inschrift aus Susa*. This inscription discovered during the French excavations at Susa was edited by F. Cumont for the Académie des Inscriptions and is included as no. 1 in vol. vii of *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.* It contains a letter from Artabanus III of Parthia to the town of Susa, still called by its Greek inhabitants Σελεύχεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίῳ, informing the authorities that the election of one Hestiaeus by the popular assembly to the Treasurership, although technically invalid, was to be maintained. The date is A.D. 21. The stone has been damaged; the last letters in each line are wanting. R. proposes a number of restorations which he considers to be free from the objections to which Cumont's emendations of the passages in question are liable. W. I. W. Koster, *Epistolae a Peerlkampio scriptae adque eum datae*, publishes the correspondence between Peerlkamp and Eichstädt with some account of the latter. The letters belong to the decade 1837-47 and are chiefly concerned with *res Horatianae*. H. Wagenvoort on Verg. *Catal.* X. 22, where Sabinus, an ex-mule driver, has dedicated to the gods *paterna lora proximumque pectinem*, defending 'proximumque', explains

it as the last in use; combs wear out more easily than reins. C. Brakman contributes *Adnotatiunculae ad Fabulas Atellanas*, also notes on D. Laberius. W. Wiersma, *The Seven Sages and the Prize of Wisdom*, accounts for the various forms in which the tale appears: (1) There were two old Milesian tales about a Prize of Wisdom passed on to each of the Seven Sages in turn and finally returned to Thales, to whom it had been offered first. (2) Another tale originating at Priene tells how Bias refused the prize, knowing Apollo alone is wise. (3) The Milesian tale of the tripod was remodelled (probably at Athens) and the moral of the story of Bias was combined with it. This version says nothing of the tripod returning to Thales. (4) The two old versions are conflated. The new form is known to us only from very late authors. The tripod has passed round and is offered to Thales for the second time, whereupon at last it occurs to him that it should be given to Apollo. S. Peppink, *De Sophoclis Codice Vaticano 1332*, gives an account of this thirteenth-century MS which contains, he believes, traces of a different recension, both of text and scholia, from the Laurentian. P. further has a note *Versus Menandri e codice Vat. 1332 suppletus*. It runs *ἐξερύφην μὲν οὖν κλαίοντο* δλωσ.

**Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung.** X. 3, 4, 5.

(4) B. Schweitzer, *Die Darstellung des Seelischen in der griechischen Kunst* (with four plates). Discusses the representation of emotion especially in archaic and classical sculpture and painting.

**Philologus.** LXXXIX. (N.F. XLIII.) 2. 1934.

A. Rehm, *Ueber die sizilischen Bücher des Thukydides*. Discusses possible omissions and interpolations in, and date (or dates) of composition of, Thuc.'s account of the S. expedition. Examines topography of Syracuse and position of its fortifications, etc. H. Steiger, *Die Groteske und Burleske bei Aristophanes*. Differentiates between grotesque (= phantastic) and burlesque (= parody, etc.). A. treats his subject matter now as one, now as the other: e.g. Heracles burlesqued in *Av.*; treated grotesquely in *Ran.* Examines first five plays pointing out burlesque and grotesque strata (to be continued). R. Herzog, *Ein vergessener Menanderprolog*. Reconstitutes a papyrus fragment first published by Weil (*Mon. grec.* i, pp. 25-8) and regards it as by Menander, possibly from the *Ὑπερβολιμαῖος*. Ph. Merlan, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des antiken Platonismus (Fortsetzung und Schluss)*. Examines definitions of the World-Soul given by various Neo-Platonists. Their existence points to a mass of traditional Platonic teaching outside P.'s actual writings. F. Münzer, *Eine Probe rhodischer Beredsamkeit in lateinischer Fassung?* Suggests that the example of *brevitas* cited by the Auct. ad Herenn. (iv. 68 Lemnum . . . Abydi) refers to Philip V of Macedon and is a translation of part of a speech made at Athens by some Rhodian orator soliciting Athens' help against Philip. J. Schnetz, *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik der ravennatischen Kosmographie (Fortsetzung und Schluss)*. (1) Offers textual emendations in bks. 3-5. (2) Concludes that the Rav.'s observation centre (? Ravenna) was not depicted as the centre of the map. Urges the importance of this fact in any future attempts at reconstruction.

MISZELLEN.—W. Theiler, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Aristoteles Politik*. A criticism of W. Siegfried's similarly entitled article in *Philol.* LXXXVIII. 4. Th. thinks that those parts of Δ which form the continuation of Γ are subsequent additions. L. Deubner, *Zum Moselgedicht von Ausonius*. Combats the view expressed by Fr. Marx (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1931, pp. 368 et sqq.) that the Mosella lacks finish. A. shows great care and skill in linking up his various themes. H. Fuchs, *Nachlese im Pseudolus*. (1) The similarity between l. 547 and l. 559 does not, as Leo supposed, suggest patchwork. Plautus writes so intentionally for emphasis. (2) ll. 38, 9 refer to l. 35, and the whole passage is a unity.

**Revue de Philologie.** LIX. 4. (October, 1933.)

Ch. Picard, *Le Cénotaphe de Midea et les 'Colosses' de Ménélas*, ad Aeschyl. *Agamemnon*, v. 414 sqq. The thirteenth-century tomb at Midea which contained no body but two long stones roughly shaped to human form is to be compared with the Cyrenaic law enjoining the making of *κολοσσοί* to represent the absent dead (cf. *Revue de philologie* LVIII, 1932, pp. 118-135). So Aeschylus represents Menelaus as having *κολοσσοί* made to represent the absent Helen; and Laodamia had an image of Protesilaus, dead at Troy (Eur. *frag.* 655). M. de Corte, *Études sur les manuscrits du Traité de l'Âme d'Aristote* (concluded), adds details and corrections to Foerster's reports of Vatican 266, 1026, Ambrosianus H. 50 sup., Parisinus 2034. L. Laurand, *Le Ciceron du 'Cabinet de France'*, explains an involved error by which an engraving, which is in fact of the 'Capitoline Cicero,' is said to be a bust in the Cabinet de France, which does not possess any portrait of Cicero. L. Laurand, *Encore les 'Lagomarsiniani'*, adds various details to an earlier article in *Revue des Études latines*, V, 1927. W. Seston, *Les vétérans sans diplômes des légions romaines*, discusses Pap. Soc. It. 1026, a copy of a document (set up, as he argues, in Alexandria) by which the *legatus* of Judaea secured the privileges of Roman citizenship for 22 veterans of *legio X Fretensis*. *Veterani ex legionibus instrumentum accipere non solent* says the *legatus*; but these men were in a peculiar position. An Egyptian was not allowed to enlist in a legion; if he did and on discharge claimed Roman citizenship, it was refused and he was fined into the bargain. These veterans had enlisted in the fleet of Misenum and been transferred by special favour to a legion. S. argues that *ὀνερπαῖοι χωρὶς χαλκῶν* are simply legionary veterans; their offspring do not inherit their citizenship because it was the tradition to discourage marriage in the legions. The citizenship granted to auxiliaries becomes more and more frequently uninheritable under the Antonines, their treatment being brought into line with that of the legionaries.

## LX. 1. (January, 1934.)

G. de Plinval, *Recherches sur l'œuvre littéraire de Pélagie*, argues on the evidence of similarities of style and matter for the ascription to Pelagius of several works anonymous or ascribed to others, viz.: *Patr. Lat.* 30, XXXII. 239-242; 30, XXXIII. 242-245; 17, 579-598; 30, IV. 55-60; 30, VII. 105-116; 30, XIII. 163-175; 40, 1031-1046; 30, XLI. 282-288; 30, II. 45-50; 30, XIX. 188-210; 22, 1204-1212; 30, III. 50-55; 45, 1716 and 48, 488-491; Caspari, *Briefe usw.* 25-67, 67-113, 122-187, 14-21, 114-119. He also regards the *Liber de induratione cordis Pharaonis* as an unrevised work by Pelagius, but rejects several other writings associated by tradition or thought with those he accepts. L. Robert, *Diodore*, XIV, 84: *Τίους* is to be corrected, not to *Τηίους*, but to the geographically suitable *Τηλίους*; Athenian tribute-lists, coins, and an inscription show Telos not to have come under Rhodian domination till after the middle of the third century. A. Graur, *Notes sur quelques gloses latines*, offers suggestions on the words *connum*, *crianosson*, *εἰρηπία*, *mullitiones*, *offula*, *sappus*, *suliunt* (*C.G.L.* V, 13, 28; 352, 29; 65, 4; 605, 1; 125, 35; III, 418, 65; V, 393, 24). R. Flacelière, *Plutarque*, de Pythiae Oraculis, 409 B-C, argues that the *καθηγεμών* is Hadrian and Theon a mask for Plutarch. Notes et Discussions: A. Ernout reviews Albrecht von Blumenthal, *Die iguvinischen Tafeln*, with scepticism. E. Cavaignac, *Le Cens romain aux 3<sup>e</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> siècles avant J.-C.*, accepting the results of H. Mattingly, *J.R.S.* 1929, pp. 19 ff., correlates the property-qualifications of Livy XXIV, 11 with the distribution of centuries ascribed by Cicero, *de Rep.* II, 22, to the time of Scipio Aemilianus; the so-called Servian scale and distribution he attributes to the middle of the third century. He then attempts to estimate the number of citizens in each class at various dates.

## LX. 2. (April, 1934.)

H. Bornecque, *Le façon de désigner les figures de rhétorique dans la Rhétorique à Hérennius et dans les ouvrages de rhétorique de Cicéron*, lists the words and phrases used and shows that, whereas the auctor ad Herennium usually represents Greek abstracts by Latin abstracts formed by translation of the elements of the Greek word (type *translatio*), Cicero invents Latin abstracts with greater freedom and shows a strong tendency to replace abstracts by periphrases, especially in the late *Orator*. Both authors differ from their successors in eschewing transliterations of Greek words. R. Texier, *Aphrodite Aînêias à Leucade*, supports the view that the divinity on the Leucadian coinage of 167 B.C. is Aphrodite Aeneas; he supposes her to be a pre-Hellenic deity of the region who had been identified with Aphrodite; she was brought into prominence at this date and connected with the Trojan Aeneas for reasons of pro-Roman politics. D. van Berchem, *Note sur les diplômes honorifiques du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à propos de la Table de patronat de Tingad*: with the growing absolutism of the emperor there was nothing for the *patronus* of a town to do; the title became purely honorific. G. Dalmeyda, *Henri Estienne et Longus*, develops Mme. Hulubei's discovery that Estienne imitates in his Latin poems the then unknown chapters of Longus preserved in the Laurentian MS. It is not clear whether he knew this MS. or some other; there is no sign of variant readings. Estienne's bad faith is on a par with that he displayed a year earlier over 'Anacreon.'

## Rivista di Filologia. N.S. XI (1933), 4.

E. Bignone, *L' ΑΕΙΦΥΕΣ nella teologia epicurea (A proposito del Pap. ercol. 1055)*. The author elucidates col. 21 (18, Scott), 5 ff. of this text (Demetrius Lacon) by reading *αειφύες* (meaning 'continuously renewing itself,' or the like) for the mysterious *διφύες*. The argument then becomes clear, and the sense of *ἀντιπαραί* is revealed. This throws light on the atomic theory of decay, and also removes difficulties in various Epicurean references to the nature of the gods. B. also offers an interpretation of col. 9 (= 6). A. Rostagni, *Ancora sulla scuola di Sirone e sull' ambiente epicureo di Napoli*. Cicero (*de fin.* II, 119 and *ad fam.* VI, 11, 2) provides no evidence that Sirone was in Rome from 50 to 45 B.C. Besides the banker Vestorius, his circle included Trebianus, the younger L. Torquatus, praetor of 49 B.C., and A. Torquatus. The three last were all Republicans, and the suggestion that their philosophy was not unconnected with their political views is supported by what we know of the attitude of Philodemus, as well as by the Epicureanism of Cassius, Messalla Corvinus, Vergil and Horace. C. Gallavotti, *Per il nuovo Sofrone*. The writer prints the text published in *Studi ital. di filol. class.*, N.S. X, and adds a considerable commentary. He then discusses the *cursus* at length, and goes on to some remarks on the scene and subject of the mime. A. Momigliano, *L' Europa come concetto politico presso Isocrate e gli Isocratei*. In the fifth century the distinction between Europe and Asia was still mainly geographical. The opposition was emphasized by the Peace of Antalcidas, and it became as sharp as that between Greek and Barbarian. In Isocrates Europe is a vague expression, but it covers more than Greece. M. traces its use in *Helena*, *Panegyricus* and *Philippus*, finding that as Philip grows more prominent Europe becomes a wider area, because the main strength of Philip lay outside Greece proper. To the suggestion of Isocrates that Philip should attack Asia, Theopompus replied in his own *Philippus* that P. had better use his resources to build up a larger power in Europe. The whole debate was made meaningless by Alexander. M. Guarducci, *Intorno alla decima dei Cretesi*. *I.G.R.R.* I, 1010 is brought into connection with the discussion of an inscription from Gortyn published by the writer in *Rivista*, N.S. VIII, 483 ff. She adds some remarks on the decline of the *syssitia* in Hellenistic and Roman times. A. Solari, *Strategia nella lotta tra Procopio e Valente*. A description of military events from September A.D. 365 to May A.D. 366. *Recensioni. Note bibliografiche. Cronache e commenti. Pubblicazioni ricevute.*



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